THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DEPRIVATION IN CHILDHOOD

VOLUME ONE

A review of the literature and
discussion of theoretical problems

by

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Being ~~the First Part of~~ a Thesis
submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in the
University of Edinburgh

EDINBURGH APRIL 1953

Acknowledgements.

This work was undertaken on a Scholarship granted by the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, and I desire to express my thanks to the Trustees for their support.

My grateful thanks are due to Miss H. Wilson for all her patient work in the preparation of this lengthy manuscript.

J.N.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DEPRIVATION.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

The publication of the Curtis Report, and the passing into law of the Children Act 1948, were outstanding landmarks in the history of social welfare in Great Britain. The neglect of the educational, social, physical and spiritual welfare of children in the late eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century, and their exploitation in the sudden expansion of industrial output, is a shameful passage in the history of civilization. The activities of enlightened men and women in the nineteenth century have slowly moulded public opinion towards a greater concern for the welfare of children, though the slowness of this process is perhaps illustrated by the fact that the death penalty for children was not erased from the Statute Book until 1908.

The Children Act of 1948 has made possible much greater supervision of children who lack a parent's love and guardianship, and has made possible better treatment of children who have suffered a disruption of their family life. However, it is one thing to introduce legislation which makes possible better care and treatment: it is quite another to know what that better care might be. The full intention and spirit of the Act cannot at present be realised, because too little is known of the factors involved the child's development /

development in the family, or the effects of deprivation of family life. Wise action demands knowledge, and knowledge here is by no means adequate.

This study, it is hoped, may add something to this knowledge, and is undertaken as a service to those children that might benefit from a greater understanding of their problems.

~~The first part of this thesis~~ It surveys what we know at present about the psychology of children who lack the normal love and care of parents in family life. It examines the facts available on psychological development within the family structure, and endeavours to co-ordinate existing knowledge on these aspects of child development with information on the effects of a lack of family life.

Chapter 2.

SELECTIVE FACTORS IN THE COMPOSITION OF AN INSTITUTION POPULATION

In dealing with a given population it is necessary to know the factors that have gone towards the composition of the group, and to know in what ways it differs from the general population.

Overall figures are not available, but Brockingham has given an analysis of the children in the care of three English County Councils in July, 1946. These counties, Durham, Lincoln (parts of Lindsey) and Warwickshire represent respectively an industrial, agricultural and semi-industrial region, and may be taken together as reasonably typical for the country as a whole. By combining his figures we gain the following table:

Table

Reason for child's coming into care.	Percentage of total.	
Death of one parent	7.8	10.7
Death of both parents	2.9	
Insanity or certifiable mental deficiency of one or both parents	10.5	80.2
Desertion by parents	10.4	
Removed to Care and Protection	59.3	
Illegitimate	8.7	
Delinquents in care of local authority	0.4	

Total number of children: 1195.

Most/

Most of these children were in public-assistance homes and institutions run by local authorities. A few were boarded out. (Children in private institutions or privately boarded-out and supervised under the child-life protection clause were not included, nor were delinquents in Home Office Approved Schools. Inclusion of these would probably not appreciably affect the proportions). Children certified as mentally defective and committed to a certified institution were not included.

It is apparent from this table that only a tenth of the institution population are genuine orphans. Six-tenths are children who have been removed from their parents on grounds of neglect, immorality, cruelty, and lack of parental control. Another tenth have been deserted, and another tenth again have insane or mentally defective parents. In this last case the child has probably experienced a period of unsatisfactory home-life before the certification of the parent, so that altogether eight-tenths of institution children have a background of unsatisfactory or broken-family life.

On the whole, less than one-tenth (i.e. most of the illegitimate group and perhaps a few of the orphans) will be children deprived in early infancy and subjected to what has been called the 'psychologically toxic' environment of the baby-home.

From/

From the psychological point of view, therefore, the institution population falls into three broad classes:

1. By far the biggest class, comprising about eight-tenths of the whole (and institutionalised delinquents can be included here), consists of children from broken homes, children of rejective or neglectful parents, or of frankly incompetent parents. What this implies in terms of mental hygiene is amply expressed in clinical literature.
2. A small class, about one-tenth, of orphans, many of whom may have known satisfactory family life.
3. A rather smaller class, probably less than one-tenth, of children (mostly illegitimate) who have never known family life of any kind, being reared from early infancy in an institution.

In considering specific institutions, certain variations may be operative. When a child is removed from a parent as a result of a prosecution, the care of the child (usually) falls to the local authority, which may have accommodation in an institution of its own, or which may place the child in a private institution. Many private institutions select their cases, so there is a tendency for the local authority institutions to be left with cases no-one else will accept, and the local authority institution may be left with a higher proportion of the more difficult 'bad-home' cases. However, this tendency is somewhat

offset/

offset by the fact that the selection of children by the private institutions is not always fully efficient. Another factor at work is that orphans privately placed and maintained by the surviving parent or a relative are usually sent to private institutions, whereas orphans of economically less stable families tend to fall to the charge of the local authority. The sum result may be that the private institution has a rather higher proportion of genuine orphans and also tends to get them from a rather superior background, and has fewer difficult cases, whereas the local authority institution may have fewer and socially inferior orphans and a higher proportion of the more difficult 'bad-home' cases. In this matter, however, with the rising cost-of-living and scarcity of money, some private institutions are finding they have a decreasing number of children maintained by relatives and are receiving a bigger number of children who are maintained by local authorities. This is tending to even out the advantages of the private institution in getting the better children.

Even among the privately maintained orphans selective factors are at work. The orphans of wealthy parents can be placed in the care of a tutor, and such are obviously not candidates for an institution. Orphans of/

of professional or semi-professional families are more often placed in boarding-schools (occasionally with 'complete charge' so they remain over the holidays), financed either by other members of the family, on legacy, or from insurance schemes. Most respectable working-class families will prevent any member of the family from entering an institution, and some relative will undertake the care of orphans. Here again there is often an insurance scheme in favour of the children. The children left to institutions are almost all those of the less provident groups, and those groups in which the unity of the wider-family group is less strong.

In the case of the home broken by divorce or desertion, similar conditions hold: in the higher economic levels there may be money enough to dispose of the children in more 'respectable' fashion, or else the wider-family takes the burden upon itself, and the cases falling to the institutions will be those from inferior socio-economic backgrounds.

Cruelty and neglect are generally estimated in physical and material terms instead of in psychological terms, as they might be, and for this reason cases of this sort rarely come from well-to-do families, where children are clean/

clean and well-clad, and where these things take a more subtle form. The incidence of cruelty and neglect, psychologically estimated, is probably not much lower in the higher economic levels than in the lower, but by reason of their outward differences they rarely become the subject of a prosecution which would lead to the children being committed to care. *

The selective elements at work in the composition of the institution population have been outlined, and the question now presents itself as to what influence these may have upon the children. It would appear too wide a digression to review the literature on the nature-nurture controversy, and in any case such a review is likely to prove quite inconclusive. In referring to some recent reviews (Neff, Goodenough, Jones) it appears that since definitive evidence has not yet come to light and our knowledge of all the factors involved is so meagre, a conclusion in favour of one side or the other can only be reached by a process of selective emphasis.

A somewhat categorical statement must be made of the interpretation placed on all this mass of conflicting evidence: it will be noted that the view is that gained from somewhere about the middle of the road.

By/

By far the greater part of the nature -nurture controversy has centred around the question of intelligence. Inheritance (as the writer interprets the facts) places an upper limit on intelligence, whereas the environment determines at what level on or below that limit intelligence shall function. A stimulating environment free from emotional strains permits maximum development up to the genetic limit, whereas an unstimulating environment (particularly if it also contains emotional stresses) depresses development. By a stimulating environment is meant one containing factors such as parental example, books, problems meaningful to the child to be solved, educational opportunity, etc. This question of environmental stimulation is fundamental to the problem of deprivation and receives fuller discussion elsewhere.

A point which appears to be important but which is overlooked in the literature is that individuals do not normally work right up to capacity. They do this only under more extreme motivation than is usually found in an intelligence-test situation, so that what is actually measured is rather the customary level of intellectual performance. It may be that the child in a more stimulating environment/

environment works nearer to his maximum than a child less stimulated but it seems unlikely that he customarily works 'all out'. It appears to be an implicit assumption in mental testing that the child works under maximum motivation, and this assumption is surely not justified.

Terman and Merrill have presented the only really large-sample study of the average intelligence of children from different socio-economic groups, and they give the following table.

Father's occupation.	Mean I.Q. of children.
I. Professional	116
II. Semi-professional and managerial	112
III. Clerical and skilled trades	108
IV. Semi-skilled and minor clerical	104
V. Slightly skilled	95
VI. Unskilled	94

These figures are confirmed for Americans by a smaller sample by Goodenough. No large study is available for this country, but a small study by Cattell shows similar trends. These are, of course, only trends and they tell us little about the intelligence of individual children. Neff has suggested that these differences in I.Q. can be accounted for entirely in terms of environmental influences, and whilst one might not agree that this is likely to be entirely true, it may be that the customary level of performance of the different/

different groups are as above, with the maxima somewhat higher (though whether or not they are raised by equal amounts cannot be stated).

Lawrence has shown that children removed from home before the third year have a lower correlation of intelligence with paternal occupation than those removed after that age, the implication being that they grow intellectually more like the father as age increases. In the terms presented above, t hey approximate more closely to the parent in customary level of intellectual performance. It may be presumed that with increasing age this customary level becomes more rigidly fixed.

Carr-Saunders and Jones, in an English study, found that differences in intelligence corresponding to social level of origin, as in the Terman and Merrill study, persisted in children living in a number of institutions.

It has already been pointed out that the children in institutions tend to be drawn from the inferior socio-economic groups, and we may therefore expect that these children (as a group) will tend to be of inferior intellectual potentiality and in the case of older children to have a low customary level of performance.

Lithauer/

Lithauer and Klineberg give a mean I.Q. of 94 for 1195 cases aged 3 to 13 years admitted to the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, New York, and Skeels and Skillmore give 88.5 as the mean I.Q. of 407 children aged 1 to 14 years admitted to another (unspecified) orphanage. In both cases the tests were made shortly after admission, and the influence of the change of environment and the upheavals that have presumably preceded admission are points that are overlooked by the authors. These figures may not, therefore, have been obtained under the best testing conditions. It is interesting to note that both find a falling off of I.Q. with age which they attribute to the longer time spent in an unsatisfactory home environment. Bodman, in an English study, gives 90 as the mean I.Q. of fifty institution children.

Having established that institution children, as a group, come from intellectually inferior backgrounds, and are themselves intellectually somewhat retarded, what are the implications of these findings to the personalities of individual children?

Group generalisations of this sort are not very helpful in dealing with individual cases. The most that can/

can be said for this finding is that a given child, whether his own capacities are high or low, probably finds himself in a rather dull community when he enters an institution. For this reason (as well as others) the institution environment is not stimulating.

So far as the personality dynamics of deprivation are concerned, intelligence seems irrelevant as a primary consideration although it would be perhaps more cautious to state that no relationship has yet been demonstrated. In the various studies (e.g. that of Terman) in which less neuroticism is found in highly intelligent groups of children, it is not clear whether this is due to better resistance or to less exposure to neurotogenic situations. The effects of deprivation apparently are not differential at various levels of intellectual ability, and whilst these may influence the secondary aspects of deprivation (e.g. the symptoms) they have no special influence on the gross effects.

The distinction between this point and its converse must be noted: the effect of deprivation on intelligence is a separate problem.

On/

On the subject of the inheritance of broader personality factors than intelligence in institution children, the literature contains only one study, that of Bodman and his associates. Working in an English public authority institution with fifty children, he attempted to analyse constitutional factors in the personalities of the children. He used a control group of school children from ordinary homes and administered the Vineland Social Maturity Scale. (This is a questionable procedure, since the method of scoring the Vineland Scale is open to criticism, and it is also doubtful whether some of the items in the scale bear any real relation to maturity. Being standardised for an American population its validity for an English one is further reduced). The scores he quotes are 92.9% for the institution and 106.5% for the control. When the institution group was analysed on the basis of family record, the group with a "good" record scored 105%, whereas the "bad" family record group scored 91.6%. He claims that this is heavy evidence for an inherent basis to the unsatisfactory personalities of these children, but the possibility of environmental influences whilst the children were still at home has not been attended to.

A more telling part of the study was that 75%

of/

of the institution group showed defective qualities in their inheritance as indicated by insanity, epilepsy and antisociality in parents or siblings. Only 11.5% of the control group showed similar factors. (There is, of course, the possibility that it would be easier to discover these matters in a group dependent on public support than in an independent experimental group: even allowing for this the difference is impressive).

Twenty-five per cent of the children had been committed to the institution because the parents had been removed to mental institutions or M.D. colonies, but this figure differs markedly from Brockingham's 10.5% and raises the question of a bias in Bodman's sample, for covering a wider sample, Brockingham's figure is more likely to be reliable.

Granting then, that institution children, taken as a group, tend to have this unpromising background, what is the relevance of this knowledge to the present study, which is concerned more with the individual child than with group characteristics?

Kallman has produced quite convincing evidence supporting the view that schizophrenia <u>can</u> be inherited, but the fact that a child has schizophrenic relatives does/

does not inevitably predispose the child to schizophrenia, and we cannot predict that such a child will certainly inherit this condition. Moreover, Pastore has exposed flaws in Kallman's research and is led to conclude that the question of the inheritance of this disorder is as far from solution as ever.

Masserman has made the following observations: "All in all, genetic studies have shown that while there might be a tendency to inherit feeble-mindedness, and, possibly, epilepsy, there is no reliable evidence for definite hereditary factors in behavioural aberrations less directly dependent on organic and neurologic function. Rather, controlled genetic-environmental studies (cf. Rosenberg) indicate strongly that parents influence their children's patterns of behavious less by genes than by the nature of parental care, precept and example." (pp. 11)

Bender (1937) discussed sixty children referred to the psychiatric division of a hospital who had psychotic parents (including schizophrenic, affective disorders, alcoholics, criminals and epileptic). In the sixty families there were 198 children living: in addition to the sixty concerned in this report another forty siblings were/

were recorded as presenting behaviour difficulties, making a total of 100. (51%). Evidence for constitutional or hereditary factors were present in a small number (six) of the children of schizophrenic parentage. (Twenty-four of the parents were diagnosed as schizophrenic: a total of thirty-nine of their eighty-one children were known to present behaviour difficulties - twenty-four of them being included in this study). Two-thirds of the children were boys (which is about the usual figure for CGC referrals). She notes that most disturbances appear to occur when the parent's illness is in the first five or six years of the child's life, though its results may not become manifest until early puberty. She draws attention to the disturbing influence of life with a psychotic parent, particularly during the early critical years; and though she does not explicitly draw this conclusion her evidence strongly suggests an environmental rather than constitutional cause of the children's maladjustment in the big majority of cases. It is also interesting to note that in the schizophrenic group, two-thirds of the parents were mothers: since the mother has more contact than the father this again supports the view/

view that environment was the medium of transfer. (Owing to the possibility of sex-linked genes it does not, of course, prove the matter),

The vital question therefore appears to be not the disorders of behaviour that have been observed in the family background of the child, but the extent to which the child himself has been exposed as a witness or participant in that behaviour, and the age of the child when he was involved.

To summarise, there are fairly definite selective factors in the composition of an institution population, which tend to confine the area of recruitment to inferior socio-economic levels of society (which are in any case the more numerous, so that even random selection would achieve much the same result). Generally speaking, the children come from families with a lower genetic endowment of intelligence, and hence are likely to be themselves of lower rather than higher intelligence. The question of the genetic endowment of other traits is uncertain, but it seems probable that environmental influences are more important than genetic ones.

Eysenck (1952) discusses the problem of heredity and environment at some length in his recent book. He states that whilst some fair progress has been made in the study of the inheritance of physical characteristics and cognitive functions, there has been little work done on the inheritance of conative and affective characteristics.

There is some evidence for the inheritance of certain very simple traits (e.g. angle of slope of handwriting), but studies of more complex traits, such as psychosis, are both scanty and methodologically unsound. Eysenck himself has shown that certain simple traits (e.g. motor skills) are inherited, and that these correlate quite highly with neuroticism, and this is presumptive evidence for the inheritance of neurotic traits.

He attacks rather vigorously the tendency of many students of personality to ignore genetic factors, and quotes Slater's trenchant criticisms of modern trends in psychiatry to make no mention of inherent or genetic factors in mental disorder just because these would seem to make therapy hopeless. Some studies that purport to demonstrate environmental influences could equally well be explained in genetic terms.

In the work quoted Eysenck is not so much seeking to advance genetic hypotheses as to warn against unwarrented and unscientific assumptions:

> "The environmentalist assumption underlies the greater part of contemporary work in the field of personality, and still determines interpretation of strictly neutral material in the complete absence of confirmatory evidence. This does not mean that the environmentalist hypothesis is false; we have no knowledge on which to base an opinion." (page 198)

Whilst the view taken in this thesis is somewhat environmentalistic, it is cautiously so. It endeavours to give due weight to biological factors involved in human development and behaviour. Perhaps it is not altogether logical that one should be more readily disposed to consider genetics in discussing man's biology than in discussing his psychology, but perhaps this is because we know more about the genetics of the former than the latter.

If the broad traits which seem to typify the institution child are shown to be inherited, then this would have serious repercussions on much of the argument presented here. Such inheritance seems unlikely. Whilst there might well be inherited suceptibility or resistance to the effects of deprivation, one feels justified in discussing deprivation in mainly environmentalistic terms.

(See Eysenck, H.J. The scientific study of personality. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952).

Chapter 3.

THE BASIC NEEDS OF CHILDHOOD. PART I

The Institution Child.

Much use is made in child psychology, of the concept of Need, and in particular we hear much of the child's need for affection and for security. As hypothetical constructs these concepts do perform a legitimate task, but it appears to be high time that they were submitted to closer scrutiny. Just what is the 'need for affection'? How does it operate; why does its frustration lead to the observed results? What is its origin?

No attempt has been made specifically to examine these questions, but a certain amount of evidence on the matter is available.

Ribble (1944) made a prolonged study of six hundred infants, the completed report of which has not yet been published, so that the results as so far available are not accompanied by statistical data, but consist mainly of observations. These observations cover situations in which the child has received inadequate "mothering", (to use her term), and in which/

which we may presume the 'need for affection' has been thwarted. She defines mothering as tactile contact, cuddling and stimulation by one individual, but exact methods of assessing its adequacy we are not given. The cases referred to are in a maternity hospital. (See Ribble 1939). Her approach is psycho-analytic, and she is concerned with oral and anal behaviour. The material presented appears to offer excellent physiological correlates to the 'need for affection' that would enable us to pin it down. She claims that "the breathing of the neonate is precarious not only during the first days of life but up to the time that regular vocalisation begins, which is usually around the third month". (p.635). She draws attention to the metabolism of developing brain tissue, and the fact that grey matter uses more oxygen than white. In consequence the younger animal (with its greater brain to body weight ratio) has a higher relative oxygen consumption in the brain. Ten per cent. of her infants "needed considerable stimulation in order to bring their breathing activity into momentum" (p.636). On account of the low oxygen content of the foetal blood, the neonate is particularly liable to oxygen-want. Moreover the innervation of the diaphragm is still incomplete, at birth/

birth, so that without physical stimulation from the mother's handling the infant is liable to irregular breathing or even asphyxia. Development of the nervous system may be impaired by this oxygen lack.

She next discusses oral behaviour and the necessity for adequate sucking behaviour, so that the infant could become satiated of this activity. She notes "Conscious or unconscious hostility was apparently communicated to the child in some way, for a poor sucking response appeared invariably in the unwanted infant". (p.638). Concerning unrestricted opportunity for sucking she states that physical well-being and better digestion, gastro-intestinal function and elimination characterised the infants permitted this satisfaction. She also claims that psychological functions were fostered, the babies who had easy and unrestricted sucking focussed their eyes considerably earlier on the average, and grasped for objects earlier. They generally manifested a higher degree of alertness. Those babies subjected to inadequate or restricted sucking (as when bottle fed) cried excessively, were hypertensive, developed gastro-intestinal upset, and some became stuporous. A few even ceased sucking altogether and had to be tube-fed.

Bottle/

Bottle fed babies are also liable to air-swallowing, which aggravates gastro-intestinal complaints. Fifty per cent. of the 600 babies observed, she notes, "were definitely not self-starters in sucking", and the oral drive needed encouragement.

The combined results of the lack of mothering, with its correlative oxygen-want, muscular tension and lack of oral-satiation results in what she calls a "kind of primitive anxiety".

On the question of anal behaviour, she notes constipation as a characteristic of unloved babies, stimulation of the anus by the stool developing a tension leading to retention. The "grunt" at elimination is regarded as a first step towards vocalisation, so that speech retardation is related to constipation. She notes, "In a small group of foundlings which I studied, the difficulty with constipation disappeared spontaneously when they were taken from the institution at an early age and adopted into homes where they got an adequate amount of affection and physical care".

The material presented by Ribble appears to relate the observed affects of deprivation in early infancy directly to physical factors, and offers a nice explanation/

explanation of the syndrome. Since the study is unfinished it is perhaps unfair to insist too much on the lack of statistical data, but the more serious objection can be raised that her observations entirely fail to differentiate cause and effect, nor do they satisfactorily demonstrate that the factors observed at the same time are causally related at all.

Moreover, Pinneau has severely criticised the medical evidence she uses. In connection with the foetal circulation, he points out that there is no medical warrant for claiming that it remains open until the third month of post-natal life. On the contrary the infant's circulation is remarkably stable. Several studies show that the infant has no difficulty in obtaining oxygen - the respiratory mechanism is more than adequate. Irregular breathing is normal in infancy.

On the question of gastro-intestinal disturbance, Pinneau draws attention to the studies that indicate no ill-effects of bottle-feeding babies, who in Ribble's terms are orally-deprived. Cow's milk, particularly if supplemented, is dietically adequate. Air-swallowing is common in both breast-fed and bottle-fed babies.

On the question of suckling behaviour, he points out/

out that her own evidence is self-contradictory, and she ignores other studies that give different results. Sherman and Sherman, on the question of spontaneous sucking, have stated that it is present in all infants after twenty-four hours.

Ribble maintains that a minimum of two hours sucking per day is required by infants, but Sears and his collaborators have shown that even with no sucking time at all the infant may manifest no distress. They studied the effects of three kinds of feeding, by cup, bottle and breast (twenty newborn infants in each group). The feeding time for the breast-fed group was twice that of the cup-fed, and the latter had no satisfaction of a "sucking drive". The breast-fed children showed significantly better performance in a test of strength of sucking, but no other significant differences in behaviour of the groups was noted. Actually the breast-fed group showed a little more crying and general bodily activity than the others, but the difference was not statistically significant. There was no significant difference between the groups in spontaneous oral activity. They conclude that in general/

general "the cup-fed group showed less sign of frustration or unsatisfied oral drive than did the breast-fed group". Their conclusions are supported by the studies of Fredeen; Bakwin; Davis and Havighurst; Gesell and Ilg; Paterson and Spano. These studies do not, however, extend beyond the immediate situation, so that it is possible (though improbable) that differences arising from these experiences may appear in later life. Some follow-up studies bearing on this point will be reviewed below.

Pinneau remarks that almost every one of Ribble's contentions are refuted by other studies, and many of her opinions are based on personal notions rather than observed facts.

As Orlansky remarks in connection with Ribble's articles, "One gets the general impression that every infant hovers on the border of death, and that the balance in the direction of life must be tipped by adequate mothering and sucking". (p.12). He mentions a number of studies which indicate the survival of infants not receiving these attentions.

The material reviewed in another chapter makes it quite clear that children reared under institutional conditions may in fact develop unsatisfactorily and to this extent Ribble is correct, but it appears that the rather promising explanation of the factors underlying these effects of/

of deprivation put forward by her were untenable. We must therefore look elsewhere.

We are indebted to Orlansky for a review of some of the literature on infant care and its relations to later personality. He draws attention to the great amount of writing advocating the value of breast-feeding; this appears to be one of the psychological questions that is emotionally toned and upon which the objective evidence is meagre. Rogerson and Rogerson made a follow-up study of 109 children seen some years before at a post-natal clinic. At seven years of age they found a greater proportion of feeding, sleeping and personality disturbances in children who had been artificially fed in infancy. Hoefer and Hardy examined 383 children (aged seven to thirteen) and found that on the whole the artificially fed infants had developed less well both physically and mentally than the breast-fed. Neither of these studies attempted to deal with other factors that might have been relevant, but Rogerson and Rogerson point out that their study does not prove a causal relation between infant feeding and later personality. Faber and Sutton made a better controlled study of forty-two pairs of bottle and breast-fed infants, equating other factors. They found that whilst the breast-fed group developed better in the first three months, they were surpassed by the bottle-fed in/

in the latter part of the year. They studied physical development only, but it may be presumed that mental health was correlated with physical well-being. Gesell and Ilg do not share the commonly accepted view that bottle-feeding is always bad, as they consider the baby's nervous system quite able to cope with this method of nutrition. (p. 42).

Another vexed question upon which little concrete evidence is available is the influence of the length of breast-feeding. Orlansky examines a number of studies on the subject, and remarks that they "..... agree that there is no linear correlation to be observed between length of breast-feeding and any major aspect of personality studies". (p.6). D. Levy has suggested that a medium length of breast-feeding is a healthy diagnostic sign, as too early weaning tends to be associated with rejection and delayed weaning with over-protection. Paterson and Spano, however, tested this hypothesis and found no relation between maternal rejection and length of breast-feeding.

The question of self-demand versus scheduled-feeding is of particular interest to a study of institutionalized infants, as they are almost perforce restricted to the latter. Until recently this method was almost universally advocated by the medical profession, and still is much recommended. A growing body of opinion now condemns the practice. In view/

view of the opinions freely expressed in the matter it is surprising the find little record of concrete evidence upon which these opinions could be based. Orlansky quotes two studies, one by Trainham, the other by Escalona, which give entirely contradictory results, and in any case are statistically inadequate. Marquis has shown that very young infants can settle either to three or four hour-schedules but are upset when the schedule is altered. Gesell demonstrates a tendency for self-scheduled infants to adopt a regular interval.

On the question of weaning the position is equally unsatisfactory. Orlansky states that he "..... has been unable to find any experimental data correlating different forms and times of weaning with aspects of personality". (p.9).

Thumb sucking is another factor of interest in view of the psychoanalytic dogma of oral-deprivation. Orlansky discusses the evidence on this subject and shows that satiated breast-fed infants as well as others may be observed to suck, and there is no evidence supporting the psychoanalytic contentions in the matter.

Kunst studied thumb sucking in a group of 143 institutional infants during the first years of life and found that the frequency of sucking was greater when the children were hungry than immediately after meals, showing that the so-called oral drive is not independent of the

hunger/

hunger drive. Large individual differences were noted.

Bernfield examined infant-care in a number of societies differing from our own in these respects. He commented on the endeavours of our way of care to continue the protected conditions of foetal life, and coined the term "foetus-phobic" to describe infant care in many other societies. In spite of conditions apparently inimical to both physical and psychological development, many survived without demonstrable neurosis or other ill-effects. Under such conditions the death rate was high, but so it is in many foundling homes with excellent conditions of hygiene. The death-rate due to purely organic infection is in any case irrelevant to this discussion. There appears to be a big psychosomatic element in the foundling home death-rate.

Dennis reports an interesting experiment on twin girls. They were raised from birth in extreme isolation, separated from each other by a screen and accorded the minimum of care necessary to feeding and toileting. They were kept on their backs, not spoken to or exercised or fondled in any way until the seventh month. In the development of physical skills (grasping, sitting, etc.) they were naturally retarded, but they responded affectionately to the experimenter during his brief visits, and otherwise showed normal development during/

during the first year.

Albanian children (Danzinger and Frankl) were customarily reared in the first year under conditions of considerable physical constraint, being bound into a wooden cradle and isolated in a dark corner (often covered by a cloth), yet their social behaviour was at least equal to that of Viennese children of the same age, even though they were temporarily retarded physically.

Numerous studies of societies in which infants are restricted in cradle-boards, swaddling clothes, etc. reveal no permanent physical retardation or psychological ill-effect (e.g. Dennis on the Pueblo Indians, Mason, etc.).

On the question raised by Ribble of the care of a single adult, in many primitive societies the child is reared in an extended family where he is constantly passed from relative to relative. Mead notes that in Samoa no adult takes much interest in an infant, and the younger children are cared for mainly by an older sister. Nevertheless the child does receive a fair <u>total</u> of adult care from various relatives.

In the matter of sphincter-training and its implications to the Freudian concept of the anal-character, Orlansky maintains that the evidence supporting this theory is both meagre and inconclusive, and bowel-training <u>per se</u> does not appear to offer any relevance to later personality.

The/

The attitude of the trainer and the psychological atmosphere of the situation, rather than the fact that the anus is incidentally involved, is probably much more relevant.

Sewell (1952) was dissatisfied with the scientific adequacy of studies of the psychoanalytic theory of infant training, and he studied the question himself by relating the training of 162 rural children to later personality. The group was fairly homogeneous so far as socio-economic factors were concerned, and all the children were between five and six years. The children of disrupted families were not included. Data on infant training was obtained from the mother by a trained and competent interviewer using a guided interview technique. Three sources of information were used for assessing the present personality of the child:

i. scores on paper-and-pencil personality tests
ii. projective techniques (TAT).
iii. mother and teacher ratings.

These tests were used as crude indicators, and the child was scored "favourably" or "unfavourably" adjusted on forty-six selected traits.

The general null-hypothesis was adopted that "the personality adjustment and traits of children who have/

have undergone varying infant training experiences do not differ significantly from one another". This hypothesis could not be rejected.

Examining the specific hypothesis relating to seven types of training, none could be rejected. The results are summarised below. In each case there were forty-six possible chi-square tests: the number which were significant is indicated.

	Number of chi-squares significant.	Significant Difference between gps.
1. Breast feeding vs. bottle feeding	0	No
2. Self demand schedule vs. regular schedule	0	No
3. Weaned slowly vs. weaned abruptly	2	No
4. Later bowel training vs. early	3	No
5. Later bladder training vs. early	1	No
6. No punishment at toilet training vs. punished	1	No
7. Slept with mother in infancy vs. did not	4	No

In 2, in one test the self-demand children scored significantly lower. In 6, the 'not punished' children scored significantly higher (5% level) on social adjustment and school relations. In 7, the children who did sleep with the mother scored significantly lower on personal freedom, self-adjustment and family relations. Out of 460 possible chi-square tests, only eighteen were significant at the 5% level or better. Eleven were in the expected direction according/

according to psycho-analytic theory, and seven were in a contrary direction.

To examine the additive effect of these infant training methods considered favourable by psycho-analytic theory, the children having mostly favourable training, (i.e. four or more of the left hand or positive methods listed above) were compared with those having mostly unfavourable ones. No significant difference between the groups was found.

It is concluded that this study, within its limitations, does not support the Freudian theory relating to the effects of the training items enumerated, at least so far as this age group is concerned. This does not, of course, give information on the wider aspects of the total mother-child relationship.

This review indicates the difficulties that exist in any attempt to anchor the 'needs' of infancy in any definite entity or situation. Ribble's attempt to relate these to physiological factors has proved unsatisfactory, as also have the attempts to show them inherent in breast-feeding, weaning, conditions of restraint or lack of it, bowel-training, individual care, etc. Whatever these needs are, they appear pretty elusive.

The/

The difficulty may be, therefore, that we are searching in the wrong place. Perhaps a re-orientation of viewpoint solves the problem and makes the whole matter rather clearer. The search has been directed towards discovering what the parentless child has had taken away. The logical difficulties all disappear if instead of being concerned with what the parentless child lacks, we turn our attention to what other children have. It is not that the parentless child has anything taken from him, but that other children, in the conditions of any given culture, have certain experiences added. What is added is not some specific experience, or even experiences, of an isolated nature (a particular type of bowel training, sucking behaviour, or what have you), but prolonged participation in a complex social and cultural situation. Looked at this way, the fully deprived child is relatively unacculturated whereas other children are reared in a definite culture that has certain influences on their personalities. The deprived child approximates to the basic minimum of human personality unmodified by the culture.

A completely unacculturated human being is, of course, unimaginable, as it would involve a newborn babe being stranded alone in some deserted place and somehow surviving: the reports of children reared by wolves (if they be true) might be examples. The child reared from early infancy in an institution has, however, less contact with/

with the culture in which other children are reared, and being reared in what is in effect a different culture, develops differently. It is plain from the material received earlier that the child reared in our normal culture has a better chance of physical survival; he may grow bigger and healthier. He also has an advanced development of certain qualities of personality that are valued and considered desirable by our culture: he is more intelligent (or at least can better use his intelligence), he displays initiative, is adept at concept-formation, has better verbal facility, is more socialized, etc.

The normal child differs, therefore, from the parentless child in much the same sort of way as the educated one differs from the illiterate, in so far as he has had the opportunity of <u>adding</u> to his natural potentialities. There are, perhaps, certain differences between acquired or cultivated traits of personality and acquired intellectual facilities, though probably both are subject to the same laws of learning and the differences will prove less significant than at first appears.

Not only has the normal child acquired certain qualities in excess of the deprived child, he has also learned/

learned not to indulge certain tendencies in an unrestrained fashion, aggression for example.

It should not be supposed that this view reduces personality entirely to acquired traits. The institution child who has the minimum of culturization still has a personality and perhaps shows more clearly the constitutional factors unmodified by learning.

What then of the "need for affection"? As an inherent drive it may well be non-existent. Nor does it seem necessary to assume an inherent "need for (psychological) security".

Assuming for the sake of argument that the institution child is reared from birth entirely under conditions in which he has no contact with the culture of society at large, and has the very minimum of adult contact, then the only culture to which he is exposed is the peer-culture of the institution. (The influence of the peer-culture will be the subject of another chapter). Under these conditions the child will develop without any "need for affection" from adults. This fact is borne out in the very superficial relationships and the lack of emotional involvement that characterises these children. It should be noted that the matters at present under discussion are distinct from those dealt with by Bowlby in his/

his study of juvenile thieves, and the "affectionless personality" he describes in that study is rather different matter from the clinical point of view.

Anthropological studies show that human personality is moulded by the culture in which it is reared, and is so adaptable as to adjust satisfactorily to very diverse conditions. Although there is a common core to all human cultures the range of differences in detail is amazingly large, and a happy and satisfactory adjustment to these conditions is made by the vast majority of people reared from birth under them. This point is of some importance to our discussion and is dealt with more fully in the Chapter on Cultural Relativity.

The child brought up from birth in an institution, however barren that institution may be, will generally be adjusted to that environment, and will even find a measure of happiness in it. He may have a different personality from children outside the institution, but that is another question. The important point is that so long as he remains within that institution he may be a well-adjusted individual relative to his environment. Difficulties will arise only when he enters the different environment of the world outside, to which he is not adjusted. The "need for security" is simply/

simply a need to remain in a familiar and understood environment. A change from this familiar setting (even to one which an observer may consider a better environment) is a threat to the security of the child.

It has been seen already that the institutionalized child tends to lack certain facilities, compared with family-reared children: initiative is impaired, concept-formation is poor, he is inept socially, he cannot set and shift systems readily. He lacks, in other words, those skills that will enable him to deal with complex and changing environments. For this reason, he is well adjusted in the relatively simple environment of the institution but is likely to be unable to adapt himself to the more complicated and fluctuating conditions of normal life.

This "need for security" is not a real, ongoing or permanent need such as the need for food (which has cyclical characteristics). The term 'need' is an unfortunate one because there is no process or entity which is in constant functioning and which is frustrated when the child is made insecure. The behaviour relating to 'insecurity' is not aroused until the familiar environment of adaptation is disturbed, and the kinds of behaviour generally called 'symptoms of insecurity' are simply the reactions to a situation that is unfamiliar and to which the child does not know how to adapt. Whe should not

therefore/

therefore, talk of a "need for security", but only of "reactions to insecurity".

The arguments developed in the latter part of this Chapter apply only to the child reared from birth (or the earliest days) in an institution, who has not experienced family life, and who has not had contact with the normal world. The case of the child who has first had experience of the normal culture and family life, before deprivation, and the case of the child in an "open" institution having contacts with the normal environment outside, will be considered later.

It must be made clear that in describing the institution child as unacculturated, the term is used in a relative sense. The description given above has supposed, for sake of argument, that the institution child has no contact with the normal culture of the world, has no emotional ties with any adults, and has been reared in isolation in only that barren culture provided by the institution. In point of fact this is not the case in any institutions in modern Britain, and this supposition has been made merely for the sake of developing the discussion.

This stark and oversimplified state of affairs is never met and the personality of the institution-child is enriched to greater or lesser extent by factors to be discussed in the next and other Chapters.

Chapter 4.

THE BASIC NEEDS OF CHILDHOOD. PART II.

The Psychology of children deprived in later life.

Consideration has been given to the psychological characteristics of the child who has not known family life, but has spent the whole of his life in the unstimulating environment of an institution. Such a child has been described as (relatively) unacculturated.

It was suggested that the "need for affection" is not a basic or innate need. The so-called "need for security" was shown to be relative to the environment in which the child is reared, and is simply a reaction to an unfamiliar situation and not a true need at all.

In considering the child who has experienced the normal culture of our environment, including family-life and all it implies, some amplification of these concepts is required.

The typical or normal child, who has been reared in the more stimulating culture of the outside world, is more versatile than the institution child: he shows a superiority in concept formation, in verbal ability, and in the setting and shifting of systems in handling complex material. His behaviour is less stereotyped; he has greater social ability. The normal child is, in fact, more "educated", using that word in its very widest sense.

An/

An interesting experiment is quoted by Hebb. He reared two litters of rats, one in cages in the "normal" environment for the laboratory rat. The other litter was reared as pets by his daughters: they became much tamer than the cage-reared animals, and experienced much petting and a more varied environment. In maturity these rats performed better than the cage-reared litter in situations that could be described as tests of "rat-intelligence". The more stimulating environment in which they had been reared had influenced the whole "personality" of the rat, and the experiment parallels the situation as regards institution and normal children.

One of the features of normal life in the family is the opportunity for the child to form stable, emotional attachments to the parents. Once such attachments have been formed, they must be maintained. They become a part of the personality of the child, and although there is no innate "need for affection" such a need may be induced. Similar conditions apply in the case of one who has built his life around a dominating theme - a musician, for example, to whom music is his being and his reason for being. One cannot say that a musician has a basic or innate "need for musical expression". Even though to

deny/

deny his music would be a serious frustration to him, possibly to the extent of making life intolerable, this "need for music" is not a primary or innate need, but a secondary or induced need. Had he never known music, if his interest in the subject had never been aroused, it would not have assumed this dominant place in his personality, and he could not have been frustrated in this direction as there would have been nothing to frustrate.

The contention is, therefore, that the acculturated child, whose personality is widened and made more complex by the educative aspects of the culture, has certain needs induced which are not innate. Once these needs are established their frustration may lead to personality disturbances. The truly institution-child (as described in the previous Chapter) is not a <u>disturbed</u> personality, but an unstimulated one.

This is borne out by the observations of Spitz (1946) who found that the degree of personality disturbance of infants separated from their mothers was related to the strength of the mother-child relationship. He gives the following table showing this relation, and, as he says, the figures speak for themselves. (Table 6, p. 336).

Mother-child relation.

	Good.			Bad.		
	Intense	Moderate	Weak	Intense	Moderate	Weak
Severe depression	6	11	-	-	-	-
Mild depression	4	-	3	7	-	4
No depression	-	-	2	11	2	14

The better and more intense the mother-child relationship, the more traumatic the experience of separation. It is evidence that the children enjoying good mother-relationships had acquired an induced need for the continuance of that relationship which the children not experiencing had not acquired.

Goldfarb's study gives further illustration of the matter, in which two equated groups were reared (in early years) in institution and foster-home: a marked superiority was noted in those children reared in the more stimulating foster-home environment, and it is apparent that these children (who started with equal, or if anything, with somewhat inferior, constitutional equipment to the institution children), had a personality enriched by the wider experience to which they were exposed.

Support is also given by the University of Iowa studies/

studies, in which adopted children are reported as showing a marked superiority in their intelligence over that expected from their mother's background and intelligence, when reared in better-than-average adoptive homes. (Particularly striking is the report on the children of feeble-minded mothers, Skodak 1938). These studies have been subjected to heavy criticism, but they are corroborated by Goldfarb's investigation to which the criticisms levelled against the Iowa studies do not apply.

The studies of Brodbeck and Irwin (speech development) R. J. Levy, (D.Q. on the Gesell Scale), Spitz and Wolf (smiling response), have been made with adequate controls and show similar trends to Goldfarb in institution and non-institution children. These have given explicit data on hereditary factors, and it seems very probable that it is the later experience and not inheritance that is the causative factor in the differences found. The studies of Gindl, Hetzer and Sturm; Rheingold; Simonsen; and Rondinesco and Appell (D.Q.'s and I.Q.'s of infants) have also taken care on this point so that hereditary factors are improbable causes of the differences they note.

Ripin's/

Ripin's study shows a superiority of development of children reared in families of poor socio-economic circumstances over children reared in an institution.

The differences between the institution child and the uncared-for street urchin are the subject of comment by a writer in 1861. He says ... "The thoroughbred workhouse boy or girl is far more difficult to deal with than the child who has been running wild about the streets in filth and rags ... while the eager, impressionable mind of the latter is open to the kindness, the true workhouse child is sullen, suspicious and discontented ... A torpor of both the mental and physical system characterises all workhouse children". (Mary Hopkirk p.136).

Descriptions of workhouse life at that period show that conditions were often extremely barren and unstimulating and approximated pretty closely to the conditions described in the previous Chapter. It should be noted that even at that time there were enlightened Guardians of Workhouses, and not all reached this extreme state.

The discussion so far has spoken somewhat vaguely of these induced needs, using one in particular (the induced "need for affection") as an example. It is perhaps/

perhaps time to make some more specific comments on the question of innate and induced needs, though a detailed discussion of the actual needs that are induced must wait upon a discussion of family life and other features of the culture that may be need-inducing.

The Theory of Needs.

As Murray (1936) has pointed out, "no therapist, or indeed anyone who has to deal in a practical way with human beings, can get along without some notion of motivational force (instinct, need, drive, impulse, urge, inclination, wish, desire, or what-not)". He has selected need, which he regards as a directional force within the organism.

Using, Murray's definition, the innate or inherited needs which man shares with the animals, are few. They are what Angyal has called "standard need situations" -- the needs for food and water, for primitive sexual behaviour, for elimination and for oxygen. These needs are cyclical in nature, with a period of increasing deprivation followed by satiation. In each case the needs are related to definite physiological conditions -- the blood/

blood sugar-level or whatever it may be. The need for oxygen is rarely frustrated under normal conditions, so it does not become subject to social control. Although the physiological bases of the other needs are also highly standardised, their manner of satisfaction is by no means so, at the human level. The matter of obtaining food, the way it is eaten, and what is eaten, are subject to enormous variation among different classes and races of people, and similar variations are found in the satisfaction of the other needs. The satisfaction of these innate needs is essential to the survival of the individual or the race.

These are probably the only innate and invariable needs of Man, and it is possible to assume that all other needs are acquired -- what have been called induced needs above. The innate needs continue so long as the individual survives (except in the case of the sexual needs which wane, but which continue as long as the race survives); induced needs on the other hand may/

may have a transitory existence. The more permanent of these needs will form the core of those aggregations of habits or habitual modes of adjustment that Allport calls traits.

A cataolgue of these needs would be very extensive, as Murray's list shows, but certain induced needs are common to a culture, and others are common to most cultures. Perhaps the commonest induced need is the so-called "need for affection" in children, because it so happens that most children, in the processes of feeding, bathing, etc. receive this affection consistently. Moreover, this experience usually comes from one person, the mother. Because certain needs in the mother herself may be operative, this experience is often extended beyond the bare minimum for the feeding and care of the infant. This need for affection is not of necessity related to the mother, as shown by Mead, for in Samoa infants and young children are tended by a range of relatives (not always female). Samoan infants relate this need not particularly to one individual, but to a number. Nor, logically, is there reason to relate this need only to specific situations, such as feeding, not only to the mother. A motherless infant artificially fed and customarily fondled and toileted by a father could quite as readily relate the need for affection to him.

This/

This argument does not preclude the possibility that the "need for affection" induced by the Samoan pattern, or by the above paternal situation, may be qualitatively different from the more usual pattern, but this may make no difference to the happiness of the child (though this is subject to qualification).

It is not possible at present to say just what the distinctive influence of the experience of affection is upon the personality, because other factors also operate. The institution children whose psychology was discussed in an earlier Chapter lacked not only this experience, but intellectual stimulation; they lacked adult example in conduct and the host of other subtle factors in family life. It is not possible to say, therefore, which environmental lack is causal of which constriction of personality. To do this research is necessary in which one is held constant and others varied - to study, for example, children lacking affection but having different degrees of intellectual stimulation. (it might be possible, however, to make some shrewd guesses).

Discussion of the need for affection has been made to illustrate the concept of the induced need, but a fuller discussion of this need and others will be made when family-life and other need-inducing aspects of the culture have been examined.

Whilst/

Whilst in such an induced need as that for affection there is an ongoing psychological process, a directional force within the organism, there is none such in the so-called "need for security". This is a misnomer, and it should not be included among the needs of childhood when need is used in the sense defined above.

CHAPTER 6.

Identification and Acculturation.

A discussion of this question might revolve around the super-ego, but is the concept of the super-ego really necessary?

No psychologist who is at all influenced by Gestalt theory can avoid being disquieted by the terms in which Freud and his followers describe the super-ego. Freud speaks of this thing as if it were a malevolent little devil holding office somewhere (presumably) within the skull. Whilst allowance might be made for the metaphorical nature of his writings, his terminology does obscure certain important points. Hollitscher, paraphrasing Freud, speaks of "a clinical picture which throws into strong relief the severity and even cruelty of the super-ego" .... "the way in which the super-ego treats the ego" .... "it abuses, maltreats and humiliates the ego ...." and so on. Psychoanalytic writings are full of such phrases which might be appropriate in allegorical literature but are inappropriate to scientific discussion.

Whilst in certain contexts it might be convenient to use the tripartite division of personality into id, ego and super-ego, the language used should not be such as to obscure the fact that it is a total personality that is under discussion, and that such abstractions have no concrete/

concrete counterpart in reality. For this reason the use of the rather neat and in some way desirable term super-ego is avoided, and instead the term 'socialised individual', or the 'acculturated individual' is used, a terminology which does not conceal the fact that it is a total person which is under consideration.

To Freud the process of acculturation (the formation of a super-ego) was essentially an unpleasant and even traumatic experience. It involved (if one may step into his style of metaphor) the nurturance of that mischievous demon referred to above. The culture itself he views as inherently inimical, a harsh system imposed by its representative the super-ego with few compensating benefits upon a part-person (the ego) which is constantly urged into rebellion by another part-person (the id) which somehow dwells within the same frame.

Whilst a culture may have its defects, he ignores the fact that on the whole it is a benevolent rather than malevolent influence and that acculturation has advantages and even pleasures that greatly outweigh its restrictions. Freud himself admits (somewhat grudgingly) that acculturation is necessary to group life, for the unrestrained dictates of the id would rapidly produce chaos. He views the culture rather as the average man regards/

regards income-tax, a necessity that it would be pleasant to do without, if at all possible. It is submitted, however, that the process of acculturation has positive advantages, and even (unlike income tax) positive pleasures.

To put the matter at its lowest level, it is a homely truth that too much pleasure cloys: the joys of unrestricted indulgence of any delight soon vanish and the greatest satisfactions are obtained where a measure of deprivation has preceded the indulgence and some effort has been necessary in its obtaining.

Unless a man is to live as an hermit (itself an unsatisfying existence) contact with one's fellows involves a measure of discipline which may be irksome but brings the important satisfaction of acceptance by one's fellows. Moreover, where this discipline has been inculcated from the earliest years and the child has grown into it in his development, the discipline is hardly noticed. The individual knows that by accepting the mores he can ensure acceptance by the group. To be accepted, to have that feeling of "belongingness" is a very great satisfaction in human life.

The culture also has an economising influence. By defining the conduct appropriate to certain roles and situations it saves the individual time, thought and effort in working out these standards for himself. Whilst taken/

taken to excess conventions can be a burden, in moderation they have a distinct value. To take an instance, we have in our society a convention that shopkeepers have a stated price for their goods, and by competition and other devices these prices are, on the whole, fair ones. In considering a purchase this makes for considerable economy of effort and of time, as one appreciates when attempting a purchase in a country where this convention does not apply. It also is a convention of our society that a man, in the words of Mossic Law, shall not covet his neighbour's wife, or anything that is his. Whilst this convention has obvious advantages to the neighbour, his wife, and his children, it also has advantages to the first man himself. If strongly conditioned to this convention, such covetousness will never enter his head, or if it does, will be quickly inhibited to the benefit of all, including himself. Himself, because in most cases it saves him a struggle: the matter is apprehended at once as "impossible" and abandoned before tension and conflict arise, and he thereby avoids the pain of social censure and of guilt feelings. Whilst he loses fleeting and (under these conditions) uncertain pleasure, it is of great advantage to him to have this situation decided/

decided for him by the conventions. This same convention furthermore protects him and his.

Whilst "bad" cultures are not unknown, cultures on the whole are "good" (though certain defects in our own culture will be discussed later). Whilst they exact obligations they also give rights. They define role, status and activity, and thereby minimise anxiety and conflict. They give the stability which is essential to human development, and they give a feeling of "belongingness" to the members.

As a result of his oedipus theory, Freud was obliged to regard the prohibition of incest as the most burdensome of all the cultural impositions. It would be valid to say that as a general rule the familiar is less attractive sexually than the unfamiliar. Country dwellers know that a bull which is allowed to graze with the cows becomes uninterested in them, but will immediately mount a fresh cow brought into the field. One does not suppose that any psycho-analyst could make a case for supposing that the bull had repressed his desires within the "family": the familiar has merely become unattractive. Freud and the Oedipus situation notwithstanding, the young child has no sexual attractions towards either the parents or siblings, and/

and by the time these might arise (at puberty) the very familiarity of these persons usually places them outside the sphere of attractive partners. However, human behaviour is variable, and in spite of this generality, sexual desire within close groups may occasionally arise, hence the universal prohibition of incest. An examination of the question of incest in primitive societies shows that the incest rules have as their function the prevention of jealousies and conflicts which would disrupt the immediate groups that need to work together co-operatively. One might say that the incest rules are related more to economics than anything else, as they seek to preserve the unity and co-operative activity of small groups that must work together for economic survival. In such societies the rules cover individuals who are not necessarily related, but are near-neighbours. The spirit of the prohibition of incest is quite different from that envisaged by Freud.

It would be quite false to claim that everybody, or even more than a very small proportion of people, find this prohibition irksome in relation to the family: having no desires in this direction (active or repressed) they are hardly aware of such a prohibition.

In the attitudes of primitive peoples to incest, it/

it is not the sexual act per se that is objected to, it is the disruptive effect on the family and the community. In other words, this prohibition is not a special case, but another instance of the general rule, (illustrated by the vengeance potlatch in Chapter 4), of law and custom which seeks to preserve the stability and harmony of the community.

Man is essentially a social creature, and the family is an institution essential to his development. It is within the culture that the social and family requirements are met and the culture, whilst imposing certain restrictions, offers stability and protection. The concept of the super-ego, as proposed by Freud, greatly exaggerates the disadvantageous aspects of the culture, and almost ignores the advantages. Inherent within his concept is the notion that the process of incorporation into the culture is a painful and disadvantageous one. The concept also, as mentioned earlier, makes an unreal abstraction from personality. Since it both gives a false emphasis to acculturation and a false description of personality, the concept of the super-ego does not appear a generally useful one.

Freud used the super-ego as an "explanation" of the process of socialisation. In some manner which he did not define this entity was presumed to introcept the culture and force it upon the ego. In dismissing the super-ego, what are we to put in its place -- or is it indeed necessary to/

to replace it all? In fact it seems unnecessary to do so, as we have seen that it is not some autonomous part of the personality that takes the culture into itself, but it is the total personality that is modified by socialisation. For an understanding of the mechanism of this process we must look to learning theory.

We shall see in the Chapter on the peer-culture the importance of identification of children with their parents (and particularly of the girl with the mother or the boy with the father) in the process of socialisation. In the Freudian account of this process it was a painful and difficult one, and led inevitably to conflict with the parents as its agents. For this reason ambivalence, the admixture of hate with love for the parent, is important to the psychoanalytic view. In claiming that acculturation is not such an unwelcome process, we have less need for the concept, and whilst not denying its existence, would say ambivalence is much less an important feature than Freudians would believe.

Furthermore, the aspect of culture which in the Freudian account is especially burdensome is the prohibition of/

of incest, and it is the oedipus situation which is particularly important in the genesis of ambivalence. In rejecting the oedipus theory the concept of ambivalence is relegated to a minor role.

The "super-ego" as an explanatory concept in the process of acculturation is not a satisfactory one: culture is not an alien force to be inflicted upon the personality by a "rammer", the super-ego, but it is a supporting medium into which the total personality integrates itself. The process of acculturation is one of an enlarging biosphere, in which the developing child integrates the heteronomous environment with his personality, and this process is normally harmonious. The dynamics of this process are by no means fully understood, but some suggestions on the matter are reviewed in the next Chapter, which introduces "identification" by a total personality as an explanatory concept.

CHAPTER 7.

The dynamics of identification.

It was mentioned in the previous Chapter that we must look to learning theory for an understanding of the process of socialisation, but unfortunately we cannot yet obtain a ready answer.

This branch of psychology, which has a very extensive literature and a vast amount of experimental work to its credit, has not yet produced a satisfactory explanation of the mechanisms underlying acculturation. A detailed discussion of possible theories, since they are as yet inconclusive, will not be profitable in this context, but one theory appears promising. Mowrer (1950) has proposed a two-factor theory of imitative learning which might prove of value. It combines the principle of contiguity learning proposed by Holt with Miller and Dollard's theory based upon reward. He claims that whilst their monistic theories taken separately do not offer a satisfactory explanation, in combination they are useful. He has done a certain amount of experimental work in this connection on the psychology of talking-birds, and this has some important bearings upon language development in children. It may also throw light on more diverse learning processes, including/

including socialisation. Mowrer found that before a bird could be taught to talk it was essential for the trainer to make a pet of it. He must feed and fondle it, and get the bird to like him. Without this, no efforts at teaching could avail. Once "adopted", one repeats the lessons as he tends the birds.

The process appears to be something like this: as a result of petting, all the stimuli associated with the trainer (particularly his appearance and his voice) acquire a positive valence for the bird. It reaches a stage where it is glad to <u>see</u> and to <u>hear</u> the trainer - the sight and sound acquire secondary reward value. This first stage occurs through contiguity learning.

The second stage involves reward learning. The bird (it is presumed) wishes to reproduce the trainer in his absence. The only way available to it, is to reproduce the sounds associated with the trainer. Any sounds resembling those made by the trainer, will, by generalisation, have a secondary reward value, and a self-administered learning process is activated. Once some speech is learned on this autistic basis, this speech may acquire instrumental value. It may, for example, increase the trainer's interest and attract more of his attentions. At a later stage the bird may generalise its/

its "wish for company" to other human beings. That speech may have this instrumental value to the bird is illustrated by the case of a parrot which would be silent so long as people gave it company, but would speak as soon as they showed signs of leaving it, as if to retain their attention.

Mowrer suggests that an analogous process occurs in the infant's learning of language, and he also suggests that more diverse learning is acquired in a similar way. This may well be the case. In the case of the bird, it might be said that in reproducing the trainer's sounds, the bird identifies with him to that extent at least.

A distinction should perhaps be drawn between imitation which is copying some attribute of a person present, and identification, which is taking to oneself and using these attributes in the absence of the person.

A particularly important principle emerging from Mowrer's suggestive article is that identification is strongest and most effective when the object of identification has strong positive valencies. Whether it can occur under a negative valency is not clear: it might be the case in Anna Freud's concept of "identification with the aggressor".

The suggestion is, therefore, that identification in/

in its broader aspects commences as a device which ensures the attention of the loved object. Whilst the bird's only means of doing this is by the imitative sounds, the human child has wider possibilities. Mowrer suggests that the bird may later resurrect for itself an image of the absent trainer by talking to itself, which arouses at least an aspect of the loved-object, an image of his voice, and so gives vicarious satisfaction. The human can perform the same function in more diverse ways, which include acting like the absent person. At the human level, with wider aspects of identification as with language, further uses are discovered for this facility. To the boy identification with his father is not merely a device for ensuring his attention, or a vicarious pleasure in his absence, but it also aids the boy's developing masculinity and facilitates acceptance by his peers.

Stoke has classified the factors influencing identification under the following heads:

a. the biological fact of sex and its predispositions to some forms of behaviour.

b. the social pressures upon children to identify with their own sex.

c. the degree of affection accorded the child by the person with whom identification is attempted.

d. the extent to which the child's needs are gratified by this person.

e./

e. the degree of acquaintance which the identifier has with the identified person.

f. the clarity of the role of the person with whom identification is attempted.

g. The attitude of influential persons towards the person with whom identification is attempted.

h. the capacity of the child to be like the person with whom identification is attempted.

i. the temperament of the child in relation to this person.

j. the existence of strong needs on the part of the child which conflict with or coincide with the requirements and patterns of the person with whom identification is attempted.

This author also draws a useful distinction between emotional and behavioural identification. The emotional acceptance of an ideal, and attempts to duplicate behaviour, must be separated if one is to avoid over-simplification. Account also needs to be taken of the differences between identifier and identified as well as the similarities.

Certain of Stoke's factors have been discussed in earlier sections of this paper. The biological factor will be discussed under the heading of basic maturation, and it is ~~been~~ there suggested that this gives a directional tendency which may, however, in certain circumstances, be deflected or reversed by environmental influences. The social pressures/

pressures (discussed under the heading of the peer-culture) is regarded a s a cultural embodiment of this biological factor. The degree of affection and the satisfaction of needs have been touched upon in Mowrer's two-factor theory just reviewed, and the place of these as rewards in the learning process outlined. The matter of degree of acquaintance will be considered in later paragraphs on secondary identifications.

The clarity of the role of the person identified with, is another matter which will received some attention later in discussing the disadvantageous position of the father in our culture. Too often his role is not at all clear to the child - he disappears daily into some remote region of mysterious activity about which the average child has but the haziest of notions. Stoke points out that the blurring of the sex-roles in contemporary life may prove bewildering to children. Fathers and mothers are themselves in doubt as to their roles and some parents try (often perforce) to occupy both roles, which is a further source of confusion to the child.

The effects of the attitudes of influential persons to the identified person upon the identification is shown in a study by Bach who supplied some interesting data on the father-phantasies of children (6 - 10 years) whose fathers were absent in the Forces. These children acquired/

acquired their concepts of the father partly from memory and partly through the mother's attitude to him. These attitudes were rated, and the mother's attitudes were found to be reflected in the children. The children produced idealised phantasies of the father, which were femininised by communication through the mother. Bach points out the difficulties that are likely to arise when the real father returns to be matched against his idealised image. This study shows that the attitude of one parent towards the other may be influential in the process of identification, and this may act even when the parents were both present. A boy who identifies with his father, for example, will have his attitude to his mother conditioned, to a degree at least, by his father's attitude.

The child's capacity to be like the person with whom he identifies and his temperament in relation to this person are to some extent overlapping factors. A mentally dull but physically active child may find difficulty in identifying with most of the activities of an intellectual father; he may, however, be able to identify with some aspects of his father's life, perhaps his sporting activities. The whole question is of considerable complexity, and it is at this point that the distinction between emotional and behavioural/

behavioural identifications becomes most marked. In the above example the differences between identifier and identified may prevent emotional identifications and keep identification at the behavioural level, and only aspects of behaviour at that. This is a problem which perhaps becomes most acute when children are forced by the break-up of family life to seek parent-substitutes. The genetic and environmental influences in a normal, unbroken family will tend to make the similarities between parents and children more marked than the differences, and will tend to prevent wide divergences that render identification too difficult.

Stoke's final factor also overlaps here too: in a normal family the child will have 'grown into' it in a manner that prevents serious conflict and facilitates identification. It is where the family constellation is deficient in some respect that this factor becomes most noticeable; where perhaps a cold and impersonal mother is unable to meet the requirements of an affectionate child. Other circumstances too, may be of importance. Ill-health may prevent a parent being adequate to an active child, for example.

As Stoke points out, some or all of these factors may be operative in specific cases and the matter may become/

become of considerable complexity. He makes some interesting suggestions on the question of negative-valencies in the identification process. He quotes, for example, the case of a boy with a punishing, frustrating father. The boy himself was temperamentally active, and not subdued by his treatment, but rather (just as would be expected from the frustration-aggression hypothesis) became aggressive himself. Here the aggression of the father was passed on to the son, and even without positive identification the boy became like the father. It is possible, however, to explain this by the frustration-aggression hypothesis without recourse to the concept of identification, and it would not be helpful to speak of negative-valencies inducing identification in such a case. Another boy might have been intimidated and have shown a quite different reaction. The evidence so far available does not favour regarding 'identification with the aggressor' as a genuine phenomenon of identification.

Whilst in normal circumstances it is a parent that is the principal person identified with, other identifications may be made. It has been seen that affection and prolonged contact are important factors in the process of identification, and normally it is only a parent who is able to satisfy these conditions: the genetic similarities between parent and child are a further aid to the process.

A/

A number of other persons in contact with the child, relatives, teachers, club-leaders, etc., may also become figures of identification, the strength of the identification being in the main proportional to the amount of affection and contact involved in the relationship. These factors are not, however essential to the formation of an identification, which may be made with absent or even mythical figures. It is doubtful, however, whether such identifications can be at all potent, and it is questionable whether the term should properly be applied to these cases at all.

It will be convenient, to prevent confusion, to give a definition to identification, and it is proposed to use this term in the following manner:-

> "Identification is a learning process whereby the identifier takes to himself a quality (or qualities) of the personality of another person in a manner that modifies his own personality."

The fact that personality is modified distinguishes this concept from imitation, which it is proposed to limit in meaning to a mere copying of behaviour without this incorporation into the personality.

The fact that identification is here considered as a learning process introduces a certain vagueness into the concept, because our present understanding of learning processes is insufficient/

insufficient to give complete clarity to the dynamics of identification: Mowrer's suggestion that contiguity and reward are probable key-factors has been tentatively adopted as this agrees with observation.

As an extension of this concept it is proposed that "primary identification" be used to describe that single, principal identification from which the child gains his main acquired qualities of personality, and his principal modifications of innate qualities of temperament. The primary identification is normally with the parent of the same sex. (Justification for these contentions will be developed in later Chapters).

A primary identification involves the following factors (as a matter of definition) in addition to its primary position:

a. strong positive emotional ties between the identifier and the person identified with.

b. prolonged contact with this person in a wide range of situations.

It should be noted that because there has been long contact between persons, or that there are ties between them, it does not necessarily follow that there will be identification (though this is probable). Other questions, such as modifiability, enter the process.

"Secondary identifications" are those weaker ones with/

with other persons, present, absent, or fictitious, and often of a transitory nature. These secondary identifications may supplement or conflict with the primary identification. Properly identifications with the parent of the opposite sex are of a secondary nature. Identifications lacking either of the above factors can only be secondary, but certain secondary identifications may show them both. Whilst it is not yet possible to draw a quantitative distinction between all primary and secondary identifications, it will be convenient to speak of certain deprived children as lacking a primary identification and having only secondary ones. That is to say, they have no identifications which have a first-order influence upon the personality or account for any major portion of its structure.

On the matter of so-called identification with an absent or imaginary figure, whether or not we include this or a genuine phenomenon of identification is perhaps largely a matter of definition. If we accept identification as involving learning (whether it proves to be a process like that described by Mowrer or some other), then these phantasy identifications should not be included under the same category as more direct identifications with persons within the child's biosphere, for the following reason.

The/

The parentless child is liable to make a parent-phantasy which is either built-up around a remembered parent or is entirely fictitious. In either case this phantasy-parent is liable to be idealised in a manner that may render it a quite unserviceable distortion. The tendency is not, as in true identification, for the child to become like the person identified with, but rather the phantasy is built up in a manner which fulfils the child's desires. One might almost say the phantasy-figure becomes like the child. A phantasy-father, for example, is perceived as a giver of gifts who can supply every wish, and never thwarting by reason of limitations of purse or personality. If the child comes across some desirable characteristic, say courage, he may then invest his phantasy-father with this quality. In other words the normal process of identification is reversed; instead of acquiring qualities from the figures, the child gives them to it. Whether or not this phenomenon has any educative value to the child is difficult to say at present.

This is distinct from the case where identification is made with a fictitious or historical figure having a defined personality. Robin Hood, as an instance, has a fairly/

fairly definite traditional personality, and it is conceivable that a child may identify with this figure in a manner that causes him to take to himself these characteristics, though the sort of elaboration discussed above is likely to occur.

In the matter of the widening of identifications from the primary to a number of secondary figures, there is no empirical evidence yet available, and here again some measure of supposition is necessary. It seems reasonable to suppose that two factors at least are important, consistency with the figure of primary identification and correspondence to some interest or need on the part of the identifier.

A feature of our culture is a bewildering diversity of patterns and standards in almost every aspect of life. In a primitive community all people share a common code of beliefs and standards of conduct, and a child is not faced with divergent views on important issues. Conflict or doubts do not trouble these children as they so often do those of western culture, who find such a perplexing divergence of opinion among his relatives and friends. It is therefore of particular value to a civilised child to have a strong primary identification as a standard measure against which conduct can be matched.

Standards/

Standards inconsistent with this can then be rejected without conflict, and such a primary identification may play an important part in the production of an integrated personality. Stoke quotes the case of a fatherless boy who identified with General MacArthur, and this identification had a real influence upon him: he did, for example, modify a pretty lurid vocabulary when it was pointed out that the General did not converse in that language. This boy's identification with the General was only secondary, however, for he had a strong primary identification with a Marine who lived in his grandmother's boarding-house. The case illustrates very well the principle of a central primary identification surrounded by secondary identification: consistent with the primary one, for in addition to MacArthur the boy identified with other soldiers and soldiering.

On the question of identification with parent-substitutes we again have little empirical evidence upon which to base a discussion. So much depends upon individual circumstances that generalisations are perhaps impossible. A child who has been bereaved of a parent with whom there was a strong bond will probably make most satisfactory substitution in a person with similar personality and interests. Strong identification with the natural parent may/

may prevent any transfer, but (particularly in an older child) may have given such stability as to make a fresh identification unnecessary. The making of a new identification requires adaptibility and active social participation: we shall see that both these qualities are liable to be lacking in the deprived child, particularly with long institutional experience, and these personality factors may hinder identification with a parent-substitute.

There is also a tendency to idealise a lost parent: faults are forgotten and virtues magnified. The absent parent (particularly if he remains absent) is likely to become, in imagination, a paragon of all the virtues acceptable to a child, such as no mortal parent-substitute can hope to compete with. This is a real hindrance to the acceptance of a substitute, and this aspect of the child's inner life is of great importance to adjustment in a new home. In attempting to match a child to a foster-home it is important to know how the foster-parents compare with the child's conception of his parents (which may differ vastly from the case-worker's conception of them). Rather than have the child attempt to reconcile incompatibles, it may be wise to place him in an institution where such intimate contact and conflict will not arise, at least as a temporary measure. Re-education of the parent phantasy is a therapeutic possibility.

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A child who is dissatisfied with his parents, feeling rejected or unacceptable, may seek substitutes outside the family. This is hazardous as our culture provides no really satisfactory machinery for this. (Among certain primitive peoples a child who is dissatisfied with his parents has a legal right to get himself adopted into another family). The child is rather unlikely to find a substitute with whom he can have such contact as is essential to useful identification, and in any case this is liable to difficulties and conflict in his relation with his family.

Whilst schoolteachers, scout or guide leaders and others may form valuable ancillary parent-substitutes, they suffer a number of handicaps that are likely to render them only "second-order" substitutes. For one thing a child stands in quite different relation to a teacher than to a parent (although the distinction may be less marked in boarding schools, in certain respects), and the child has not the same access to this person. A youth-worker such as a Scouter, may stand more closely 'in loco parentis' from the point of view of accessibility, less formal relationship than the teacher, and contact (through camps, etc.) in less stereotyped situations than the classroom. The question of responsibility for the child is probably

of/

of importance. Whereas the child may approach a teacher or other person for advice or consolement, this person is unable in many circumstances to take action for the child. The writer has known in his own experience in youth work and as a schoolmaster occasions when he has had to let a boy down in his need, owing to legal incapacity to take action for him. One notices in orphan Homes that the person in charge, quite apart from other factors, has prior place as parent-figure because the child realises that this is the person who can act on his behalf in a way that subordinates cannot. Continuity, the pattern of the Home, authority over the child and ability to act for the child, are embodied in this person in a way that it is not in others, and it is here that first choice (as it were) of parent-figure lies.

CHAPTER 8.

Frustration Theory and Deprivation in Childhood.

In earlier Chapters it has been assumed, for the purposes of developing a theoretical argument, that the "institutionalised" child has had less experience of the acculturation process. Those children that are, however, subjected to the more normal socialising processes have aroused certain ongoing processes, the "induced needs" (for affection, etc.), and deprivation may result in an interruption of these processes. The induced needs that have been activated may then be "frustrated", and frustration theory may offer some useful insights into the psychology of deprivation in later childhood.

Frustration as a theoretical concept has been employed by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears in proposing a frustration-aggression hypothesis: they claim that the reaction to frustration is aggression. This view aroused objections, it being pointed out that this is by no means always the case. In a later symposium, therefore, the authors altered the hypothesis by stating that frustration leads to a hierarchy of responses, among which (and usually prominent) is aggression. They term these other responses 'substitute responses', aggression being the primary one. Zander presents evidence which suggests that these 'substitute" responses/

responses are more frequent and at least as intense as aggression in these circumstances.

Rosenzweig had earlier attempted a threefold division of reactions to frustration in his impunitive, extrapunitive and intropunitive categories. In a later article he proposed that reactions to frustration might be of two main kinds, need-persistive and ego-defensive, and that the above three categories are subdivisions of the latter type. Maslow also suggests two main reactions to frustration in his concepts of deprivation and ego-threat.

Zander (in the work quoted above) gives a review of the literature prior to 1944 on the subject of frustration: he summarises the points of agreement in frustration studies, as follows. There is in frustration always an interference with an on-going process, resulting in a change of behaviour which is usually unadaptive: there are individual differences in this behaviour: in some, but not all, subjects there are emotional accompaniments. In experiments where groups are frustrated some aggression develops in the group. The healthy personality is able to tolerate frustration.

He notes disagreement as to the definition of frustration, as to typical results of frustration, and the place of nervous tension and conflicts in causing abnormal behaviour.

Much of the experimental work on frustration has been/

been done at the animal level: so far as we can say at present, frustration at this level results in reactions only of the need-persistive type. Ego-involvement probably does not occur, at least in any measure comparable to that at the human level. A definition of frustration has been proposed by Zander which is suited to the human level and which incorporates the feature of ego-involvement. "Frustration is that condition which exists when a response towards a goal believed important and attainable by a given person suffers interference, resulting in a change of behaviour characteristic for that person and situation." (op. cit. p. 31).

This definition includes two features of importance - the fact that frustration is relative to the level of aspiration and the abilities of the individual, and that reactions to frustration are essentially individual.

The recent book by Maier goes far towards co-ordinating the earlier work on this subject and provides an excellent starting point for a study of deprivation in later childhood, if, as seems legitimate, we consider later deprivation as a frustration.

Maier uses the term frustration "to characterise the process whereby the selection of behaviour is determined by forces other than goals or mere neural connections". This differs from Zander's definition in describing frustration in terms of effect, in terms of the 'change of behaviour'.

Maier/

Maier bases his theory in the first place upon observations made in animal experiments. Based on his experiments with rats, the hypothesis which he proposes for the behaviour of humans in frustrating situations is as follows.

On being faced with a persistently frustrating situation an individual abandons normal goal-oriented behaviour and adopts a stereotyped form of response (fixated behaviour) which persists indefinitely in spite of its lack of success in resolving the frustration. Its persistence is not reduced and may be increased by punishment. It may, however, readily be modified by guidance. The nature of the fixation is not adaptively related to the frustration, but is determined by the principle of availability (to be discussed shortly).

As a test of this hypothesis he offers the experiment by Marquat in which an analogous situation to that of his rats was used on college students. A tendency of the frustrated group (as compared with the control) to adopt fixated responses was clearly noted, and support is lent to this much of the theory. A number of other experiments on human frustration have been performed, but the diversity of behaviours noted in different situations with different individuals/

individuals is large. Zander concludes from his study that whilst frustration leads to a change of behaviour, no particular pattern is typical.

We are confronted by the difficulty inherent in human experimentation and in transferring results of animal experiment to human psychology, but in support of Maier's contentions for his theory at the human level, there is a fair amount of circumstantial evidence: the evidence he himself puts forward will be briefly recapitulated, and additional evidence drawn from other sources.

Before this, some further points in his theory must be mentioned. Maier suggests that there are two distinct kinds of behaviour, motivated and frustration-instigated. Motivated behaviour is goal-oriented: it is planful, adaptive and modifiable. Frustration-instigated behaviour is not goal-oriented, it is a "panic" reaction, unadaptive and rigid. Motivated behaviour is under conscious control and is susceptible to reward and punishment. Frustration-instigated behaviour has a compulsive nature and is not altered by reward or punishment (except that the latter may increase the frustration and so exaggerate the behaviour).

The division into these two types of behaviour is of considerable theoretical importance. Earlier views had assumed all behaviour to be motivated, and have often been hard-pushed in identifying these motives, sometimes having to propose dubious unconscious ones. As an explanatory concept/

concept, Maier's scheme appears much more promising. The possibility of unconscious motivation in some cases is not, of course, ruled out.

Whilst the distinction between motivated and frustrated behaviour is theoretically clear, in practice it is likely to be difficult to decide to which category a given piece of behaviour belongs. Certainly no generalisations are possible and each case must be separately assessed. Maier recognises that stealing may belong to either category, but he regards enuresis as exclusively frustration-instigated behaviour. In the majority of cases this is probably justified, but the writer has come across a few cases in which it has appeared to be under voluntary control. The apparent motives in these cases may be rationalised ones, the activity itself being fixated: the question is open.

Whether or not a given situation is frustrating is dependent upon individual capacities and skills. A task that frustrates a dull child may be a pleasure to a brighter one: on the other hand a task that brings the satisfaction of achievement to a dull child may be frustratingly uninteresting to the brighter child. Similarly a person may experience tension and frustrating failure in the learning stages of a skilled performance, which he can later do with ease. Questions of ego-involvement, frustration-threshold and level of aspiration may also determine whether a situation is frustrating/

frustrating or not. Social skills may also be determinative - to be placed in the company of strangers may be frustrating to the shy and awkward recluse, whereas it is a pleasurable diversion to the extroverted gregarian.

Another feature of determinative importance which Maier does not emphasise is the question of escape. It is only the inescapable situation that is frustrating. Our recluse, for example, will not be frustrated if he can avoid the situation: he may ignore the presence of the strangers, or leave the room. If, on the other hand, social obligations or other considerations force him into the distasteful situation, then it may become frustrating if he cannot handle it.

A further point is the distinction between those frustrations which stimulate effort and actually increase motivation (for example those experiments in which distractions have actually improved learning, or in the Hawksper experiment in which output increased as conditions of work become more difficult) and those situations that are impossibly difficult and lead to the breakdown of behaviour. The problem is perhaps a verbal one in using the same term for distinct matters.

A situation is frustrating, in Maier's terms, when the activity is persistently thwarted and no way of escape (by diversion or solution) is possible.

The/

The distinction between motivated and frustrated behaviour* becomes somewhat difficult to draw: dealing with the escape mechanisms, for example, there is on the one hand the wilful and motivated flight from a situation, the rational weighing up, the decision that the situation is insoluble and the purposeful avoidance of that situation. On the other hand there is panic-stricken flight. There may even by the purposeful acceptance of an insoluble situation. In a shipwreck one man may stand calmly awaiting the end because he sees that salvation is not possible and that any other course will not improve his chance of survival. Another may be paralysed by fear and also immobile. From some points of view these two behaviours are identical, yet one is motivated and the other frustration-instigated. In some circumstances it may not be possible to determine objectively to which category a given behaviour belongs.

A further point which Maier does not discuss is that all behaviour does presumably start as motivated (though in the case of a chronic fixated pattern this motivation may be historical only). In the example quoted of a panid-stricken man in a burning hotel, he presumably commenced/

* Note: By frustrated behaviour is meant frustration-instigated behaviour, that behaviour which results from a frustration.

commenced his activity under motivation, and regressed to frustrated behaviour only when no escape was apparent to him. It is always, presumably, an ongoing (motivated) process that is frustrated.

In this case it is necessary to view frustration-instigated behaviour not as a distinct entity opposed to motivated behaviour, but as functionally related to motivated behaviour, being in fact a breakdown of it.

This raises the question of the importance of the preliminary motive: are we, after all, still not freed from the difficulties that are brought by always assuming a motive?

Before dealing with this matter another of Maier's concepts must be discussed -- that of 'availability'. He does not give any detailed treatment of this important point, but he claims that the determinative feature of the response fixated is its availability at the time of frustration. Perhaps Masserman's* example of the girl unhappily married to a tailor may be used: in a subsequent psychological illness she adopted a repetitive compulsive movement of the right arm which seemed to be an imitation of her husband's movement in his trade. It is difficult to see on rational grounds/

* Masserman 1946 p. 79.

grounds what 'motivation' could have led to the adoption of this movement, or whether it had a symbolic function: in this case, just what does it symbolise? Her difficulties did not relate to her husband's trade, but to his sexual misuse of her.

Some light is thrown on the matter by the experimental work on the influence of frustration on perception and concept formation. Postman and Bruner have shown that under stress perception may undergo a primitivization. Under frustration ".... perceptual behaviour is disrupted, less well controlled, less adaptive .... selection of percepts from a complex field become less adequate and sense is less well differentiated from nonsense .... untested hypotheses are fixated recklessly."

These results refer principally to the perception of physical entities (in this case words). Faulty perception leads to faulty ideation: this may be the wrong perception of simple objects leading to simple errors, or it may be the faulty perception of a complex social situation leading to incorrect behaviour in that situation. Experiments in problem/

problem solving show that concepts may undergo similar breakdown under stress: illogical ideas are adopted or false relationships made. It is not surprising, therefore, that the "logic" of fixations acquired under frustrating circumstances is not that of rational and unemotional thinking.

Postman and Bruner point out that perception is a goal-directed behaviour, its goal being the construction of a meaningful behavioural environment, which is congruent both with reality and the needs of the individual. When this reality, or the needs of the individual, or both, are distortedly perceived under stress, it is not surprising that the resultant behaviour is also distorted and illogical.

Can we say that the motive of this tailor's wife was to make some sense of her environment and to find a solution to her problems, but under stress, by some process which we cannot follow in terms of ordinary logic or of cause and effect, she relates her escape to the familiar (available) motion of her husband's trade?

This places the symptom in its proper perspective: it merely indicates that there is something amiss, and may bear no consequential relation to the trouble at all. The transitory/

transitory motive is also of minor importance: the important thing is the underlying need. This need, on arousal, may on subsequent occasions lead not to motivated behaviour but directly to the fixated behaviour. We also see that the psycho-analysts, in claiming a symbolic function for the symptom and searching for this symbolism, run the risk of following a diagnostic false trail.

This argument gives the fixated response itself the status of a symptom -- one might say a mere symptom. It is perhaps too early to claim that this is always the case, but it does appear certain that in some cases it bears only this rather remote relation to the problem, and is irrelevant to an understanding of the problem itself.

On the other hand there may be a closer relationship: for example, in the case of enuresis (when it is a genuine fixated response) the mechanism may be this. A young child feels himself to be rejected by his parents: these feelings of rejection come before the child has acquired bladder control, and by the logic of non-verbal operations the child relates this rejection to his wetting. The process may be reinforced by parental disapproval of the behaviour as well as of himself. Owing to his immaturity he is unable to control the behaviour. The situation is frustrating and the enuresis, having a particularly high availability, becomes fixated.

In/

In this case the symptom is more clearly contiguous to the root of the trouble than in that cited above, but is still not causally related: his rejection was prior to enuresis becoming a problem, it may even have been prior to his birth. In this particular case, it would be true, but not very significant, to say that the enuresis symbolises his rejection to the child.

The presence of a fixation is therefore symptomatic of an underlying frustration. The nature of this fixation is determined by availability and is from the point of view of diagnosis and therapy of minor importance. (It may, of course, assume importance in other directions: it may be antisocial and so bring censure or punishment which increases the frustration,but the appropriate treatment is still to remove the original frustration).

The purpose of the fixated-behaviour is tension-release. According to Maier tension-relief is not a selective factor (p.81) but one may disagree with this point. It is true that the behaviour, being unadaptive to the situation, brings no solution and may be such as to increase the frustration. Nevertheless the tension-relief (reward) afforded is one factor in the initiation of the fixated behaviour, even if in later responses its tension-relieving properties become less effective. Maier himself, in/

in spite of his statement above, makes considerable mention of these tension-relieving properties in later sections of the book. A temporary relief is obtained by this mechanism, but it is unadaptive in influencing the source of the frustration. Real tension-relief can be obtained by hurling a plate to the ground, this is common observation, and there is also the therapeutic relief of aggression in children (cf. Baruch), by permitting an outlet. Perhaps simple aggressive reactions of this sort represent the first source of relief.

A more obscure form of relief is obtained in the ritual act. To give an introspective example, the author had some important papers to take out with him, and lay these on his desk with a mental note to collect them before leaving. He left without them, but went up the street with that feeling of an 'unclosed gap' which entered consciousness as a "have-I-closed-the-front-door" feeling. He returned and satisfied himself that the door was in fact closed, and continued his way, for the moment at ease. A little later the feeling of uneasiness returned, but this time he remembered its true reference. Now supposing he had been possessed of a tension or 'unclosed gap' resulting from some unrecognised problem of a persistent nature, say a personality problem, one/

One can readily see in this the genesis of a fixated ritual of going back to make sure of the front door.

This interpretation of a ritual fixation or compulsive act is quite different from regarding it as a symbol. In the clinical situation it is likely to be very misleading to ask, what does this sympton symbolise? (particularly if one has a predilection for sexual symbolism). To ask: what are this patient's frustrations? is a more likely line of inquiry. In the above example the door does not symbolise the anxiety, though it was an available instrument of concretisation: had he been quite certain of the door, he might have had a doubt about the gas.

In this question of finding the motive, the motive, like the symptom, is placed in its true place. The thing to look for is not the motive for the perceived behaviour, but the on-goihg process or need underlying that is frustrated.

The next question to be asked, since Maier does not give an answer, is whether a fixation only continues whilst a frustration is active, or whether it may become autonomous. Though the convers is not true, it is generally held in clinical practice that when the source is removed (not merely uncovered) the symptoms disappear. This would certainly be expected if the fixation is a tension-relief. It may be, however, that in new and unrelated frustration the old fixation/

fixation has a high availability and may re-appear. This may explain why quite a number of young men recommenced bed-wetting on entering the Services. It was not related this time to parental rejection but to an entirely fresh frustration. This inadequacy in the new situation may indeed have had historical relations to previous conditions, but is not functionally related. The old situation had left a lowered frustration-threshold.

Mention has been made of the numerous types of reaction to frustration that occur in individual cases. It is a matter of clinical observation that a given individual generally adopts a fairly consistent pattern of reaction, but that these patterns vary enormously between individuals.

Another feature of fixated behaviour is that it may continue even though the subject knows that it is foolish or harmful. Maier presents evidence of rats continuing the stereotyped response even though they "knew" it was the wrong one. Clinical experience shows numerous cases of this kind. It is perhaps related to the observed fact that intellectual acceptance of an idea is very different from emotional acceptance. The fixation has something of the nature of a prejudice, held to even though admittedly irrational.

Fixated behaviour, Maier suggests, may cover even such complex patterns as sexual perversions.

Maier/

Maier analyses the results of frustration at the human level into three stages, aggression, regression and resignation. Behaviour may become fixated at any of these levels.

Aggressive reactions to frustration

The Yale Group (i.e. Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears) in its original presentation of the frustration-aggression hypothesis, regarded aggression as a motivated behaviour. In some cases this is clearly so. Using the word in its broadest sense, any motivated individual is aggressive: he attacks and overcomes obstacles which prevent his reaching a goal. Here again we are somewhat handicapped by using the same term to cover two different situations. Aggressive behaviour, in addition to this function as a part of goal-oriented behaviour, may be a reaction to frustration. In the latter case it has those features of non-adaptation and irrelevance that distinguish frustrated behaviour. Objects out of the goal-paths are attacked, or objects in the goal-paths are attacked unadaptively. In the latter case the attack may be against an obstacle which the unfrustrated individual would perceive as immoveable, readjusting his goal-route to avoid it (or possibly giving up the goal as unapproachable). Aggression has the property of tension-release, which may make mere abandonment difficult.

Some/

Some evidence exists (e.g. Zawadzki and Lazarsfield in their study of reactions to unemployment) that aggression is the first typical reaction to frustration. The frequency with which aggression appears as a feature of frustrating situations adds to this view. (It might be valid, theoretically, to regard aggression as the primary reaction, which does not, however, appear in every case because it is overlaid by other reactions). The implications of this, if true, are important to therapy, as it might be presumed that the aggressive child is more lightly frustrated, a sort of first-degree frustration, and so is more readily helped. Clinical experience lends some support to this view.

Regressive Behaviour.

This is regarded as another category of reactions of frustration. Maier takes issue with those views of regression that propose a motive to it, a return to the womb or the dependency of childhood, or what-not. He quotes an example from Axline which suggests a tension-releasing function in regression, and he also quotes the experiment by Barker, Dembo and Lewin, which shows the relation between frustration and regression, Seashore and Bavelas give lowering of the cognitive level of children (as indicated by the Goodenough Drawing Test) and also decrease in drawing time (i.e. of care in drawing) as reactions to a frustrating situation. These could be/

be regarded as regressive features. They also noted increased resistance and aggression. Kelman shows increased suggestibility as a reaction to failure in college students; if we can accept suggestibility as a regression, this supports the theory further.

Resignation

The state of Resignation is the end product of prolonged and severe frustration (relative to the frustration tolerance of the individual). It is not so much a behaviour as a lack of it, a state of apathy. This condition is an important feature of institutionalization and severer deprivation in childhood and is of particular interest to our discussion.

Maier quotes the studies of Allport, Bruner and Jandorff which describes the states of apathy found in the minority groups persecuted by the Nazis. He also quotes the studies of Eisenberg and Lazarsfield, and Zawadski and Lazarsfield on unemployment. In these, aggressive and regressive behaviour was noted as a first reaction leading on prolonged unemployment to resigned behaviour. In this apathetic state even keen hobbies which could readily have been pursued were dropped, and much time was spent in sleeping or just 'hanging around'. These examples refer to Poland, but reports on unemployment in this/

this country during the depression years mention similar conditions. Moreover, very prolonged unemployment brought formerly keen and skilled workers to a state where they were unable to work when ultimately given the chance to do so. The condition bears a resemblance to schizophrenia, but must not be confused with this condition, for certain differences exist.

In an experimental study of a frustrating situation, Katz exposed subjects to failure: he showed a covering-up of emotional expression (indicated by projective drawings of human faces), and he concludes:

> "i. that covering-up, or self-concealment, insulates the person against the power-field of the thwarter.
>
> ii. apathy or depressed psychological functioning reduces emotional tension and lessens the awareness of the implications of failure. Sensitivity to potentially disruptive stimuli, both internal and external, is reduced."

Bluhm studied the autobiographies of twelve adult inmates of Nazi concentration camps. She found (as is usual) a variety of individual reactions, but mentions 'depersonalisation' as the most typical response: others quoted were at the aggressive or regressive levels. Friedman in a larger study of 172 cases, eighty-four of whom were under 18 years, gives similar findings.

We cannot expect experimental proof, at least of a conclusive/

conclusive nature, of this concept of resignation at the human level, since experiments involving the degree of frustration required would be unethical. However, a great deal of observational data which supports the hypothesis is presented by the literature on deprivation in childhood, and will be reviewed in a later section.

As Maier points out, resignation differs from other fixated behaviour in being not so much an activity as a lack of it. It is a state of insulation, withdrawal, a defence against the 'slings and arrows of outrageous fortune', in which, by making the minimal response, the individual has minimal interaction with the unfriendly environment. Using Angyal's concept of the biosphere, we could describe it as a constriction of this biosphere so that the fewest possible regions are enclosed, and the opportunities for conflict are at a minimum. To this extent, it is adaptive, but only partially as it inhibits any attempt to remove or avoid the causal frustration.

As it stands, this concept of resignation may need modification in the light of observations by Ainsworth (personal communication). In a study of young children hospitalised for long periods, she has observed a state of resignation similar to that described above, but this is followed in some cases by a state in which the child appears improved, well-adjusted and happy, fitting into the institution routine. There is, however, a superficiality of reaction and interpersonal/

interpersonal contacts that suggests the condition is by no means satisfactory from the point of view of mental hygiene.

Two features of the foregoing discussion need further amplification. One has already been touched on, the question of two possible reactions to frustration. It has been pointed out that a frustrating situation may lead to motivated behaviour designed to overcome the frustration, and this behaviour may even come under one of the categories of fixated behaviour described above, particularly aggression.

Take the case of the attorney described by Cameron (p.142) who dominated his family by temper-tantrums of a rather infantile sort. We can describe his behaviour as regressive, but is it unadaptive? After all, it did achieve the desired effect of subserving the family to his will, and it became unadaptive only when he tried it on the hospital staff, who were unmoved by the demonstration. In the family situation, was this behaviour fixated in Maier's terms? In this particular case he showed control over his actions; when a nurse pointed out that he was about to kneel on his false teeth, which had dropped out, he lifted the teeth to the table, then continued the tantrum! Moreover, he abandoned this behaviour altogether when he found it did not get him his own way in the hospital, only to resume it on return home.

Although/

Although this behaviour at first sight looks like a regressive fixation, it must be regarded as motivated behaviour. Maier's concepts are therefore of limited application, and not all abnormal behaviour can be explained in his terms. Moreover, we cannot from a superficial description distinguish non-fixated from fixated behaviour. In diagnosis a careful examination is necessary to make a distinction between the two.

It does, in fact, raise the question as to whether there is any real difference at all between the concepts proposed by Maier and those of Cameron. There is a difference, and it is a genetic one.

Cameron's scheme is of behaviour disorders as an unskilled use of basic adjustive techniques common to all men, and resolves itself into a question of faulty learning. Even so, it is a goal-oriented behaviour and the behaviour is motivated (motivation may be unconscious) even though distorted or relatively ineffective. The behaviour is moreover adaptive (to a degree) and avoids punishments (as, for example, the hysterical seizure in which the subject falls, but always in such a way as to avoid physical harm).

Behaviour of the type Maier describes, on the other hand, is not learned in the accepted sense, i.e. being reinforced in increments over a series of trials, extinquished by disuse, modified by reward and punishment etc. and it does not/

not represent an unfolding, a process which continues to be ongoing even though distorted (though the question arises as to the place of learning in the acquisition of a fixation, e.g. the reward properties of tension-relief). Instead it is a crystallization of behaviour at a given level, static and having no positive adaptive properties, though it may have negative ones. It is unmodified by punishment and unavoident of punishment.

If these are two possible reactions to frustration it is necessary to define the conditions under which behaviour passes from one to the other. To recapitulate, it is suggested that behaviour commences as goal-directed, but in certain circumstances it may pass over into frustrated behaviour. The point at which this occurs depends on the following factors:

i. the prolongation of the frustration.
ii. the intensity of the frustration. (There is the possibility of a product-relationship between i and ii).
iii. the amount of ego-involvement of the individual.
iv. the level of aspiration. (iii and iv may not be distinct entities).
v. the abilities and capacities that the individual can bring to bear on the solution of the problem.
vi. the possibilities of escape afforded.
vii. the frustration tolerance of the individual.
viii. the nature of the need frustrated.

All these factors at least enter into the determination of a breakdown point.

The other question to be discussed is the adequacy of Maier's division of fixations into three categories.

Having/

Having regard to the complexity of human behaviour, even under frustration, it would not appear sufficiently fine. Moreover, the foregoing revision of Maier's system suggests that frustrated behaviour passes through a stage of motivated behaviour that bears at least a relationship to normal behaviour. Categorisation of human behaviour can be carried to any length, and it is desirable to use the fewest categories that give an adequate working system. So far as adjustive behaviour is concerned, those basic techniques suggested by Cameron give a workable system. In this scheme we have at the level of normality these adjustive techniques used with skill and effectiveness under motivation. At a lower level they are used still under motivation, but unskilfully, resulting in behaviour that is abnormal but still positively adaptive to some degree, and still modifiable.

Under frustration the skilled use of these techniques may become disorganised (according to conditions enumerated above), resulting first in a loss of skill and later in fixated behaviour. If carried to an extreme, the frustration leads to resigned behaviour. Now behaviour which the individual even in the unfrustrated state uses unskilfully will tend, presumably, to break down earliest under frustration, and to become fixated. This forms a further point of availability, the fixation is likely/

likely to be in the general area of this weakness. Even in resignation one observes that institutionalised children show individual differences, as it were, the traces of the peaks and hollows of the levelled-down personality profile.

Experimental evidence shows that a frustration tends to generalise, to influence wider aspects of behaviour, but in spite of this tendency to affect the whole personality, areas of weakness are most affected.

Regarding the present status of Maier's theoretical system, which has naturally received the critical attention of various workers, it is recognised (e.g. Austin) that it merits serious consideration in any treatment of motivation and learning (the latter referring more especially to aspects of his work not referred to in the present connection). Frustration and reasoning have received particular experimental attention, but certain other processes of behaviour he refers to (including availability) have not been completely examined. They are certainly useful aids to thinking, but require further work to establish their theoretical status. In certain aspects of his theory there has not yet been sufficient work on the basic neurophysiological processes underlying the behaviour he describes, but in two important matters, frustration and reasoning, some success has been achieved.

CHAPTER 9.

Psychological sex-differences: cultural or innate?

In 1933 Wellman commented on the little attention that had been given to this question, andin 1946 Terman et. al. indicated that no great additions had been made in the intervening years.

Two points of view are prominent in the literature on the origin of sex-differences, and most writers approach the question from one or the other side. Some regard the sex-differences as purely or predominantly determined by the culture in which the child is reared, others regard them as entirely or largely the result of constitutional factors. In other words it is another facet of the almost interminable nature-nurture controversy. With such meagre factual matter at our disposal no cast-iron case can be made for either side of the dispute. We can but examine the evidence and hazard an opinion.

1. Constitutional factors in sex-differences.

The following studies lend weight to the assumption that the sex-differences are determined by innate factors.

Greenacre has pointed out that in males the greatest development of the neuromuscular apparatus is at the extremities and the shoulders, and fits him for "considerable centrifugal muscular aggression". The muscular development of the female is /

is concentrated about the pelvic girdle, and makes her less well-able to indulge in the "centrifugal muscular activity", even though with practice she may acquire some skill in this direction.

Seltzer has shown that the anthropometrically less masculine person tends to have different interests from the more masculine person, and he concludes that how a man acts out his social role as a member of his sex is body-structure determined.

A number of writers have referred to the early significant differences that appear between boys and girls in the expression of aggression in the preschool years. (Castle; Jersild and Markey; Muste and Sharpe; Green) and they all agree that boys are physically more aggressive.

Bridges noted that the sex-differences in this regard do not change over the preschool years. Hattwick makes the same observation for a group aged two to four years, and claims that this result supports the idea that the differences are innate, as an increase in the amount of aggression might be expected as the child was longer in a socializing medium which conditioned this response. There is the possibility, however, that conditioning might have been completed before the age of two, when her study commenced.

In /

In a study by Dawe a qualitative difference in the aggression, as well as a quantitative one, was noted. Boys struck, whereas girls more often pulled or pinched. The mean number of quarrels per child (whether physical or verbal) was 13.5 for boys and 9.6 for girls. The boys more often precipitated the quarrels, the girls mostly acting only in retaliation to provocation. Boys more frequently quarrelled over possessions, girls over interference with a game. Fuxloch noted more leadership among nursery-school boys than girls, as well as greater pugnacity.

Similar differences in various aspects of behaviour that could be described as aggressive are noted by numerous studies of children and adults of all ages, but from the point of view of the nature-nurture argument it is the studies of earliest years that are of most interest.

The physical sex differences are of particular interest in this connection, but a detailed discussion would of itself fill a volume. Johnson (see Terman et. al. 1946), remarks that "sex-differences have been found for almost every physical variable .... indeed, every cell in a human body bears the stamp of its sex". Not all of these differences have any particular psychological implication, but some bear an important relation to the present question. Sex differences are noted in height, weight /

weight, body build, muscular strength, motor skills, life-span and rate of maturation. Johnson points out that from the point of view of social behaviour the fact that there is considerable overlap in these physical traits is neutralised by the fact that the overall differences set the pattern for the sex, and hence for the individual of that sex. However, the sex-differences in central-tendencies do not make maleness or femaleness exclusive qualities, but relative ones.

Sex is determined not only genetically but by the action of the endocrine glands, as is demonstrated by ~~numerous~~ cases of sex-reversals both in animals and humans. In the male the principal hormonal secretion is androgen. It is clearly established that the development of secondary sexual characteristics is related to these secretions, and there is evidence that the psychological sex-differences are related to them also. Bize and Moricard, for example, show that young boys injected with testerosterone exhibit a marked increase in aggressiveness in all social relationships. In the female the oestrogens are the secretions which determine the development of the physical aspects of femininity, and probably many of the psychological ones also. For example, it has been shown that male rats injected with oestrogens show definite "maternal" behaviour /

behaviour towards a litter of young, whereas in the normal state they are indifferent or even hostile to them.

However, all males secrete oestrogen in addition to androgen, and all females secrete androgen as well as oestrogen, and it is the relative amount of these substances that determines the sex-character, as is quite clear in cases of sex-reversal, where a disturbance of the balance between these secretions is shown to be causal.* Clinical studies of cases where gonadal disturbances is insufficient to cause gross anatomical changes do show that changes in psychological outlook may result nevertheless, as in the virile, aggressive woman or the effeminate, under-aggressive man.

To enumerate certain sex-differences which are probably closely related to psychological ones, body size is greater in boys than girls by about 5% at birth, and continues until about eleven, when it decreases. At fourteen girls are about 5% bigger than boys, but at fifteen or sixteen the difference is again reversed, and by twenty years the male is about 20% bigger than the female. In vital capacity the differences are greater. At about six boys exceed girls by 7%, at ten by 11%, and at twenty by about 35%. The vital index (the relation between vital capacity and weight) is greater for boys at all ages studied. /

* This reference is to <u>physical</u> sex-reversal only: it is discussed more fully in Chapter 19. The question of psychological sex-characteristics and their inversion is dealt with in Chapter 20.

studied. Vital capacity is one determinant of sustained energy output, and is probably a factor in the greater aggressiveness, drive and adventuresomeness of boys. In muscular strength (as measured by the hand grip and other indices), boys are superior to girls by about 10% at seven, which increases slowly till about age fourteen, and then rapidly until at eighteen boys are superior by 50% or 60%. Simmons presents a detailed study of the physical growth of children, verifying the sorts of differences given above.

In physical maturation, girls are rather markedly more rapid than boys, particularly in gonadal functions. Puberty is reached some twelve to twenty months earlier in girls, and the period of adolescence is shorter. Girls are more advanced than boys in skeletal development at birth, and increase this superiority with time. At six they are a whole year in advance, at nine a year-and-a-half, and at thirteen, two years. Dentition is also somewhat advanced for girls, but less obviously. The relation of these more rapid developments to sex-comparisons at a given age are fairly straight-forward, but the effect of the girl's shorter period of maturation upon the adult personality does not appear to have been studied. It may be that girls, having a shorter period of plasticity, may be less influenced by the educational and socialising influences of the culture.

The sex-differences in births and viability are rather marked. Male births exceed female by about one hundred and five

to /

to one hundred (it differs somewhat with race). For still-births the ratio is one hundred and thirty to one hundred, and for miscarriages two hundred to one hundred. Except for tuberculosis, females are more resistant to infection than males and their chances of survival higher. These facts are likely to have an indirect effect upon the social pattern, particularly in cultures where women acquire prestige by marriage, though its exact impact would be very difficult to separate from other factors.

In contrast to their greater resistance to infection, females are more prone than males to instability of bodily functions. Glandular imbalance is commoner among females: they are also more prone to those mental disorders most associated with somatic conditions, mania, depression and involutional psychosis. The male shows less fluctuation of body temperature, basal metabolism, pH balance of the blood, and blood sugar level, and fainting and flushing are less common. Apparently the male homeostatic mechanisms work within narrower limits. Such stability of the bodily functions is likely to be reflected in greater stability in the temperamental aspects of personality.

There is evidence that the neuromuscular system of males is more rapidly reactive and motile. From birth onwards a number of studies report greater reaction to stimulation and greater physical activity in boys than girls. Tics and spasms are also commoner in boys.

A /

A number of minor physical differences are noted which are perhaps not readily related to any particular facts in clinical psychology, though more relevant to education. They are of interest in further suggesting physiological differences between the sexes. Defective colour vision is much more common among males (but this is a sex-linked genetic condition and possibly an accident or freak without psychological significance). Partial deafness to high frequencies is also commoner in males. Left-handedness, stuttering and alexia are all commonest in males, as are epilepsy and mental deficiency. In connection with this last, it appears that the highest extremes of intelligence are also commoner in males, and the range of intelligence is possibly somewhat wider for men than women.

Barr has published the interesting observation that the nerve cells of mature female cats contain a well-defined nucleolar satellite, which in males is poorly developed or absent altogether. Preliminary observations suggest that a similar difference exists in the morphology of the neurones of human sympathetic ganglia. Whilst it would be premature to base conclusions upon this observation, it does raise the possibility that sex-differences in behaviour may be related to functional differences in the nervous system.

Sex-differences as culturally determined.

A number of writers have stated explicitly or implicitly that the observed sex-differences are entirely cultural in determination. Mead has been widely quoted in the literature; she says, for example, that "sex-differences are as unrelated to temperament as eye colour", and she believes that our own conceptions of the role of men and women are due entirely to culture, ignoring the biological determinants. She bases these opinions principally on her study of three primitive societies (see Mead 1935), the Arapesh, the Tchambuli and the Mundugamore. She describes the Arapesh as all feminine and submissive, both men and women, with a levelling of sex-differences. The Mundugamore, on the other hand, are all masculine and aggressive, whilst the Tchambuli are inverted, the men being feminine and the women masculine.

In the case of the Arapesh her factual material is inadequate and contradictory and on her own statement the women do not lead in ceremonial, where the men take the initiative: the man is also the leader in family life, the woman obeying her husband. The husband decides whether or not an infant shall be allowed to live (infanticide being customary with unwanted children), and he also decides later questions /

questions relative to the children, especially their marriage. Men take the lead in hiring sorcerers from the plains (a prominent event in the case of sickness or other emergency), and also initiate the Kula ceremonial, an elaborate trading expedition, and organise the internal trade of the community. She describes this as male 'co-operativeness', but the picture presented is really not convincing of a lack of differentiation between the roles of men and women.

In the case of the Mundugamore, her contentions are based mainly on a study of polygamous households, which include only about one in twenty-five of the households in the community and certainly are not representative of the society as a whole.

For the Tchambuli she presents a very inadequate description of the culture, which provides no evidence for the statement that the women are dominant except the fact that they make mosquito bags which the men trade across the lake for valuables, which they hand to the women. The women then return these to the men for ceremonial use.

Mead's fieldwork in the case of these societies is poorly documented, and biased conclusions are placed upon insufficient facts. Her arguments are embarrassing rather than helpful to those who support the theory of cultural-determination of sex-differences. A wide study of different cultures /

cultures shows that the nature of the roles of men and women vary enormously. In every primitive culture there is a division of labour between men and women, which is ultimately related to the necessity for the woman to restrict her activities during pregnancy or suckling. In some societies this division is not very rigidly enforced, men and women quite readily 'crossing the barrier' when help is needed. In others social disapproval or even severe penalties are attached to infringements of the customs. The nature of the work that is considered proper to men or women also varies within very wide limits, so that it is not possible to make a universal distinction that characterises women's work, except that it leaves her free from those activities considered by her people most dangerous or least conducive to her role as a mother. The graces or attributes proper to men and women also share an almost infinite variety, though in general they are related to the greater activity and aggressiveness of the male. The attributes considered proper must be related to the conditions of the culture. The Iroquois women showed a cruelty and aptitude in torturing prisoners-of-war that would be considered very unladylike in Western civilisation, or indeed in most other cultures. Nevertheless, when related to the harsh philosophy of these most war-like people, it is hardly so surprising.

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The existence of matriarchal societies is also taken as an example of the cultural nature of sex-differences, especially in leadership and domination. Such societies are, however, very uncommon, and closer examination shows that the matriarchy is apparent rather than real. The Iroquois, referred to above, were a matriarchal people. The society was an amalgamation of five tribes (with a sixth added later) living in the territory that is now New York State, around the Hudson river. This union was arranged by the male chiefs (according to tradition led by one Hiawatha) in order to facilitate the subversience of neighbouring tribes. So successful were they in war that they subdued all the tribes for literally hundreds of miles around. Later expeditions took almost every fighting man away for weeks at a time, sometimes a thousand miles across the continent to the mountains of the west. Few men died of old age, and left at home were only the women and children. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that a great deal of authority was delegated to the women. The important business of this society was making war, and this remained firmly in the hands of the men.

A /

A parallel example may be taken nearer home - no further off, in fact, than Newhaven or Fisherrow. In these fishing communities there is again something approaching a matriarchy, for rather the same reason. The men are away at sea for several months at a stretch as they follow the shoals round the coast, and the women remain at home in charge of affairs there. They order the gear that is required for the boats, and may appear to the casual observer to have the organisation of the community in their hands. However, the central activity is again held by the men, who maintain the boats and take them to sea.

Whilst the idea of women as "inferior" is found in some societies, in the majority of primitive communities, the sex-differences are recognised without reference to more ethical questions of equality: the differences are of function rather than status. In numerous societies women hold considerable political influence. In the case of the Iroquois the chiefs were appointed by certain women who had a hereditary right to do this, and she could reprimand or even depose an unsatisfactory chieftain. The women would also be consulted in the initial proposal of a warfaring expedition, although the actual details of the campaign were decided by the chiefs. In communities where women had no formally prescribed political functions like those in the Iroquois, the chief's wife or mother, or other women, would frequently exert considerable personal influence.

The /

The differences in the interests of boys and girls in Western culture has been reviewed by Terman (see Carmichael pp. 957-967), and quite definite trends are shown. In general boys prefer the active, adventurous, mechanical and scientific, whereas girls prefer the less active, literary pursuits. These general preferences permeate all kinds of interest, even those that are mental rather than physical. In reading, for example, though on the whole boys read less, their preference is for literature with the above characteristics. The assumption that these differences are at least partly cultural is perhaps given support by the fact that recent studies show less marked differences than older ones. The interesting point is that the trend is mainly one way, girls are taking up boys' interests, whilst there is little tendency for boys to take up girls' interests. This itself may be related to another cultural phenomenon, feminine emancipation, and springs from the assumption that men's activities are "superior". (a number of sociologists refer to the prestige of masculine qualities in our own and other societies). Once the principle of feminine equality is established, then men and women will settle into the role to which each is best fitted, acting jointly where the sex-differences are irrelevant but observing them in mutual understanding where they are important. This remark perhaps reveals /

reveals my own views on the question, that there are innate sex-differences which reflect upon some (but not all) cultural situations.

A number of studies show that even when given unrestricted choice of toys or activities, boys and girls follow typical and divergent courses, and this applies also to such matters as reading, choice of school subject, and occupation. The evidence from cultural studies is not clear-cut. It has been shown that some studies widely quoted are scientifically inadequate, and in this connection another of Mead's studies is of interest. It is observed that pre-adolescent boys and girls do not mix spontaneously in work or play, but prefer to occupy themselves apart. This is frequently pointed to as a culturally created division, but Mead's study of Samoa, where there is no pressure at all in this direction, shows that even in a community which does not disapprove of such mixing, the same spontaneous separation is seen. It is perhaps ironical that this staunch supporter of the cultural theory of sex-differences should provide so much evidence to the contrary! In this connection it is also interesting to note that there is some evidence that it is the girls who initiate this separation of /

of the sexes, drifting out of the mixed groups of early childhood at an earlier age than the boys (see Chapter on the peer-culture).

What conclusion can be drawn from such cultural studies? To take an analogy, consider the case of food. The sort of food that is eaten, the manner of its eating, the customs and observances that surround it, take almost infinite variety between the poles. On this account are we to assume that feeding-behaviour is entirely culturally determined, and is without any biological basis at all? The lesson appears to be that the innate basis is subject to great control and modification, not that it does not exist. The interesting fact in studying sex-difference is perhaps not so much the variety, as that some kind of difference appears to be universal.

Co-ordinating the evidence reviewed, it can be concluded that there is an innate temperamental or physiological basis to sex-differences. This can scarcely be denied from the evidence presented in the first section, but the later discussion makes it plain that this biological basis can be profoundly modified by cultural or environmental factors. Sex-differences are not exclusively nature or nurture, but the product of both. Possibly the universality of sex-differences, and all the considerations involved, show that it is the <u>fact</u> of difference rather than the <u>manner</u> that is important.

So /

So often it seems to be implied by the supporters of the cultural-theory that because sex-differences are cultural they are somehow "bad" or unnecessary. This attitude is similar to psycho-analytic thinking of a vaguely "tyrannous" culture. Studies of the breakdown of cultures under the impact of alien forces, and most especially the widespread disintegration of both primitive and civilised cultures under the impact of Western expansion, illustrate quite clearly the important function of culture in upholding a stable system in which life can continue under tolerable conditions. The bewilderment, the disintegreation of family-life and the degradation of people when the keystones of a culture are removed bear witness to the fact that culture is not tyrannous but supportive. Culture is almost as important to man as water is to a fish. Without it no form of organised or family life can exist, and the choice is between the law of culture or the law of the jungle. Men, it can hardly be denied, are physically more powerful than women, and 'jungle law' can only mean subservience for women. The recognition of differences in role and function between men and women is not, I think, an imposition on women but a protection. Take, for example, the Nuer (see Evans-Pritchard 1951). Among these people the herding of cattle is the important activity about which the culture revolves. A man counts his wealth in heads of kine. Although /

Although he tends and cherishes them, no initiated boy or man may milk a cow. He is therefore dependent upon his wife (or his mother or sisters if unmarried) for the milking, and the place of women in society is thereby ensured. This recognition of a difference, which it will be noted is quite artificial, as magical evils are supposed to befall a man who milks, gives the woman a strong place in society, and a wife is made the stronger by her husband's dependence in this matter.

The facts reviewed are perhaps not final, but they suggest very strongly that men and women are in certain respects different both physiologically and psychologically, because they have different functions to perform. Biological factors give fundamental differences to men and women, and culture is the medium in which the psychological correlates of these differences are expressed.

Chapter 10.

CHILDHOOD IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY (SYNOPSIS).

The material of this Chapter is of considerable relevance to the social factors discussed in this thesis, but anthropological data is necessarily descriptive and difficult of brief presentation if one is to do justice to the evidence.

For the convenience of the reader a précis is given here, outlining this material in general terms. Reference need be made to Chapter 10 itself only if the evidence upon which the following statements are based is required.

The child in most primitive societies grows into a well-defined setting in which the social roles of men and women are clearly defined. The economic life of the community is shared by all active members, only the very young and the aged being exempt. There is almost universally a division of labour between males and females which defines their places in this economic system, and in the culture as a whole, as it extends to most aspects of daily life and is usually reflected in the legal system and the religious beliefs. The division of labour is based ultimately upon the physiological differences between the sexes, and in particular the ties of motherhood.

Primitive education is within the family. Because of the sex division of labour, boys move away from the mother's care when they begin to join their older brothers and father in the men's work. This is commonly about the seventh or eighth year, sometimes earlier. Even before this time, however, because the roles of men and women are so distinct, the boy identifies himself quite clearly with the male role. The girl, similarly, identifies herself with the female role when she joins her mother and the other women in their part in the economic system. There is thus a kind of duality in family life, with the males on one side and the females on the other, although this duality does not constitute a rift in the unity of the family.

Because of these conditions the father is brought very much into the process of child-rearing, and the idea of the children's upbringing being predominantly the mother's concern is quite foreign to primitive thought: the upbringing of the boys is the father's responsibility, and one he would not think of delegating to his wife. Social paternity is highly valued, and this holds true even in communities that do not understand the facts of biological paternity. Even when the boy is too young to accompany his father, the latter is very much interested in him (more so than in the daughters, though he is usually much attached to them also), and from quite an early age the boy grows up in close contact with his father.

In some communities the more formal aspects of a boy's education (that is to say, specific instruction in tribal lore, the teaching of magical rites or of some skill or art) are not performed by the father, but by another man, often a grandfather or the mother's brother: it is practically never given by a woman. In the same way a girl may receive some specific instruction from a female relative, but not from a man.

Some societies actively prohibit the mixing of boys and girls in play or at work after the early years and up to adolescence, but most make no special effort to keep them apart. It is of interest to note that even in communities where there is not the least adult restriction on boys and girls mixing, they spontaneously separate between about the seventh year and adolescence. This division appears to be not the result of imposed segregation (such as unilateral education in our own society), but to something more fundamental. This separation is doubtless influenced by the cultural factors mentioned above, but the question arises as to which is cause and which effect. It is commonly supposed that the division between the sexes is due to cultural factors of the sort described, but it is suggested that these cultural factors are themselves due to more fundamental influences.

The peer-culture has an important place in the socialising process of primitive children. To a greater extent than in our own complex society, the peer-culture is a microcosm of the adult culture. Children are involved in the economic system, and the peer-culture is incorporated into the activities of the whole community to a considerable extent. Its play activities are closely related to the affairs of the society, and in a more direct fashion than in our society, play is a preparation for adult life.

A study of the family in primitive communities lends no support to the Freudian theory of family relationships.

Chapter 10.

CHILDHOOD IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES.

In social settings as complex and as vast as those of modern urban life it is almost impossible to see the community as a whole. The pattern of interrelationships of any given individual are often so ramifying and so intertangled that it becomes impossible to observe, let alone describe, his social environment in any complete fashion. The study of primitive communities is therefore of considerable value to the social psychologist, because they are generally small enough and sufficiently self-contained to be studied as a whole. It will be understood that the term 'primitive' is relative: a rough distinction between primitive and civilised communities is the presence or absence of a written language. In general the communities which are called primitive by social anthropologists have no written records of their history, and no written legal system or folk-lore. It should not be supposed on this account that they are 'simple' communities in any but a relative sense, for they frequently have a very elaborate social organisation, and a well-defined code of law and custom. The ideas proposed by some of the older anthropologists of the happy carefree savage, or the benighted lustful savage, or the notion of primitive communism, and other misconceptions, are, one hopes, sufficiently banished from /

from the educated mind to need little attention here.

The fact is that there are few places in the world where life can be indolent, and hard work is an almost universal necessity to survival; for the majority of peoples, even in the South Seas and other Hollywood paradises, the risk of starvation is never far removed. Life is real and earnest, even in the Garden of Eden. Unbridled lust is unknown, for everywhere there is a code of laws which governs the possession of property, the rights and duties of the individual, and the code of sexual morality. The laws may be different from ours, they may permit things that we prohibit, or forbid things that we allow; although the legal system may differ from ours, it still exists and exercises just as powerful an influence on the lives of the people as in Western Society. Again, the idea of the savage grovelling before graven images and cowering superstitiously to the will of witch-doctors is an unrealistic exaggeration. Religion and the priesthood have their function in co-ordinating the society and in alleviating fears for the uncertainty of the future, and primitive religion in general performs religion's proper function in enhancing the spiritual peace and security of the individual. There are imperfections in any society, civilised as well as primitive, but the dignity of human life is recognised no less in the latter than in the former.

The /

The philosophy of primitive peoples contains quite definite ideas as to what is right and proper in conduct. Hogbin, for example, speaking of the people of Ontong Java, says, "natives have definite ideals of character: their good man is first he who is generous to strangers as well as to relatives, who is of even temper and is truthful".

A feature of primitive communities that renders them particularly useful to the observer of human behaviour is their stability, or rather, was their stability. (To-day there are very few communities left that are untouched or unchanged by contact with European or American influences: it is the custom of anthropologists to describe these communities in the present tense, even though they are describing things as they used to be rather than as they are now). In studying such societies one has the advantage of seeing a better defined and closer knit cultural pattern than our own, and because their ways of doing things are different, one can see the effects of other systems on human personality. Comparative anthropology has some important contributions to make to psychology.

On account of this stability, and the smallness of the society in which he lives, a child grows into a pre-ordained role. If a girl, she grows into a system with a well-defined structure of feminine duties or roles, which gives her certain well-defined /

well-defined rights and demands certain clear-cut duties from her. She knows exactly what society expects of her, and in return it gives her the security of certainty. In the same way the boy grows into a defined system which is different from that of the girl. The children grow up in the family, and they can see a working example of their respective adult roles in the mother or the father. Furthermore, there are no wide differences of opinions in primitive societies, so a child is spared the confusion of having a father who believes in the Trinity and the need of personal salvation from the sins of the flesh, and an uncle who is an avowed atheist and believes pleasure to be the only good. He is spared the difficulty of being taught one code of manners at school and another at home. He is saved too from the conflict of being better educated than his father, and of entering a social stratum that looks down on his origins. The primitive child knows just where he stands and in which way he is to develop.

In general, the people in primitive communities are conformers to the laws and customs of the society in which they live. Delinquency is rare. This is due in part, of course, to the greater simplicity of the legal code: fewer laws means fewer breakages. Nevertheless, there is above this factor a relative /

relative absence of maladjustment to society, and even the 'natural' aggrsssive delinquencies such as theft are uncommon. The savage is a most law-abiding person (although he abides by his own laws and not by ours). It should be pointed out that there is difference between law and custom: to take an example, the law as embodied in the mythology and traditions of the people may forbid all premarital intercourse in a given society, but yet an observer may find that in fact there is a great deal of it going on to the knowledge of the chiefs, but ignored. The law says one thing, but custom permits another. Closer inquiry would reveal, however, that this clandestine activity is kept within limits, being only between persons outside the rules governing incest, and it is not by any means unbridled promiscuity. The spirit rather than the letter of the law is observed. Furthermore, an individual knows just how far he can go, and the laws are modified by custom in well-defined ways. Some societies allow much more latitude than others, and some are much more severe than others in dealing with infringements, but whatever the nature of this balance between law and custom, the individual abides to it.

Primitive cultures cannot be regarded as archetypes, that is, they are not the unchanged relics of some primaeval culture from which more complex civilised ones have evolved, but /

but they are parallel growths which have evolved on different lines. In this connection it should be remarked that one cannot equate the primitive adult with the civilised child: the old idea of the 'child-like savage' is as unreal as some of the other misconceptions.

As specific illustration of child-rearing in primitive communities, four widely differing cultures are taken. The first illustrates a Bantu people of Northern Tanganyika. They are cattle keepers living in the hills, and whilst not warmongers, they had to be prepared to defend themselves and their property from the marauding expeditions of warlike neighbours. Hence their philosophy is somewhat military, it puts a premium on hardiness and discipline, and a certain sternness is reflected in their system of child-care. A second example, from the Trobriand Islands, is unusual in that these people are ignorant of biological paternity. A third is taken from Mead's account of childhood in Samoa, a small group of islands in the Pacific, which is perhaps distinguished more by an absence of systematic child-rearing than any particular system. The fourth is Hogbin's account of childhood in Wogeo, a small island off the north-western tip of New Guinea.

It will be appreciated that no aspect of a culture can /

can be adequately described out of its context, and the brief outlines given are of necessity only sketches: the reader is referred to the original literature for fuller and more generous treatment of the very interesting topics discussed.

Raum's account of the Chaga childhood is a particularly lively one, for as the son of a missionary he himself spent some of his boyhood years in close contact with them, later returning to study the culture as a scientist.

The Chaga appear to be acutely conscious of the need for education of the growing child, and he is not left 'to grow as he hangs' as he is in some primitive societies (and indeed in some civilised ones), but is continuously subjected to a plan of moulding and direction. For example, these people have a quite complex code of etiquette, and this etiquette is taught from an early age in the concrete situations as they arise. A boy, on being taken for the first time to Court by his father, is carefully instructed as to his behaviour before the Chief in advance, and mistakes may be emphasised by punishment afterwards. The girl is taught to behave modestly, to wear an apron of beads and not to sit with her legs apart. She is also taught to make-up (with a view to marriage) and is encouraged to mix with boys in order that she may show no shyness in their presence. In this warnings are given to take care and to preserve modesty.

Children /

Children have to obey many food taboos - they are taught not to eat the tongue of an animal lest they become quarrelsome (though here the ultimate motives would seem to be to secure these delicacies for the parents). Other taboos are enforced by an appeal to ambition, for example, that disobedience might lead to cowardice in circumcision.

In the process of food production is illustrated the principle of 'learning by doing', and of a conscious tuition.

At first, as soon as he can walk, the young child assists in the cooking by collecting firewood and other little chores. Boys do not continue this, but the girls gradually take up a bigger role in the process. In the evenings she goes with the mother to collect water, carrying on her head a miniature calabash. As she grows, the calabash is replaced by a larger one. Later she learns the actual cooking processes and eventually will prepare a meal in her mother's absence. The Chaga woman will praise her daughter's efforts, and wisely withhold enumeration of the faults till later, and thereby preserve the pleasure and the stimulus of success.

It is not until about eighteen that the girl is given the privilege of cooking for her father. She does not actually reach /

reach full domestic responsibility till about two months after marriage, when her mother-in-law ceremoniously hands over the running of her son's household. She also learns to cut grass and to perform the other of the women's labour.

The division of labour joins the boy to the father and the girl to the mother. At about seven the boy no longer helps his mother but goes with his father to cut banana shoots and other fodder. He also learns about the useful and poisonous plants. From an early age he becomes familiar with the tending of the animals, and probably is given a pet lamb of his own, which he feeds and cares for himself. When seven or so he learns to graze goats on the pastures. Here the father at first accompanies the boy, then one day pretends to be occupied and sends the boy ahead to pasture them himself, thus giving him confidence. As he grows older he takes over more and more of this task, and when quite proficient he passes on to the more exciting task of herding cattle - this marks quite a step forward for him. He may adopt a favourite beast and take special pains over rearing a calf. (But older boys are apt to ride on and ill-treat the cattle and have to be discouraged in this). Their task is to find the best grazing and to bring the beasts back in the evening well-fed. One of his biggest responsibilities is to prevent the cattle straying on /

on to arable land. If they stray and damage crops, the owner of the crops is entitled to impound one beast till restitution is made, in which case the boy is beaten by his father. This is a lesson with regard to the rights of others. Generally, four houses herd together. The groups meet in the morning, the four fathers attending to supervise and to guard against prowling leopards and enemies.

For good work a lad is rewarded with the heart and other delicacies when an animal is slaughtered. In this and in other matters the Chaga show an understanding of the educational value of praise and reward. The final stage is the learning of slaughtering and cutting up of a beast.

With all this learning goes a knowledge of the social importance of cattle, as bride-price, in barter and in fines and tribute. Also acquired is a knowledge of the treatment of the parts, meat, hide, tallow, etc., how to deliver a calf and how to secure the best yield of milk.

Agriculture is highly esteemed by the older Chaga (the younger ones rather dislike the arduous and monotonous labour entailed). At about twelve a boy undergoes an intensive course in hoeing. He has already proficiency in the use of the hoe, having practiced with a miniature at quite an early age, but the purpose of this is to ensure him to the labour and he is kept at the task remorsely all day and spurred on with a rod if necessary.

The /

The Chaga have a developed irrigation system for the elusine fields, and boys early learn the principle of the canals in building model ones, and later in digging and controlling the real ones.

Whilst accompanying the father instruction is imparted on practical geology, the location of best soils, and the use of manures, the rotation of crops and storing of seed. In all their tasks the boys and the girls learn more than the bare techniques. They also learn the discipline imposed by Nature and the necessities of co-operation with kinsfolk. Social rights and obligations soon become a real and living part of the child's training. The parents are held to be definitely responsible for the training of their children, and an ill-mannered or badly trained child is regarded as a serious reflection upon the parents.

Parents use several means of enforcing the training. Corporal punishment of various kinds -- beating, stinging with nettles, tying up etc. -- are applied, usually by the father (particularly in the case of boys). The parents also hold the granting of food and other economic benefits (such as the lobola cattle) as a means of control. They use curses and magic and fear of the ancestors as an influence. Children, however, have means of reciprocating to some extent -- the threat to run away, which is particularly serious in the case of /

of an only son, or a 'strike' in the pastures, and even by magic and curses.

In such items as the young boys' miniature hoe and the girls' small calabash is illustrated another factor, probably the most primitive one, and most powerful, in the educational system. It is the tendency to imitation. This imitation is expressed in play and is anticipatory in character. In our society much of children's play is imitatory, but not so often anticipatory: the child may imitate in play the sailor or the engine-driver or the gangster without becoming one. But (except where culture contact with Europeans has influence) the primitive child plays the activities he will later perform seriously.

A common game is the building of a small house. A boy may then find a girl and they play 'mothers and fathers' with smaller children in the role of offspring. These games may be a quite elaborate imitation of the home situation. With increasing age the boys and girls mix less in play, chiefly due to divergence of interest. The boy's play centres round the chief and imitation of his doings and those of their fathers. A favourite game is 'court-sittings', though the boys display little clear knowledge of procedure or skill in oratory. However, the cases do increase in complexity as the player gets older /

older. Punishment is meted out, corporal or in fines of cattle (represented by stones). Weddings is another popular game among the younger children, when groups are still mixed. This game involves imitation on an imaginary plane, as no child is ever allowed to attend a wedding, so can't gain any first-hand knowledge of the ceremony. Circumcision is also brought into the play situation. This play is not directed towards the utalitarian end of the real thing, e.g. hoeing is played at for its own sake and not to prepare any land. But it does anticipate adult activity and prepares the skills required.

It is interesting to note that culture contact is tending to remove some of the anticipatory role of play. The white man in his various forms (missionary, administrator, etc.) is caricatured in play. This suggests that primitive play is anticipatory only by accident, because no other material is presented for imitation. The fact that children will take these matters into their games makes them much more open than their parents to be influenced by the alien cultures.

Another aspect of child life and education is the gang activity which begins to arise in early adolescence and to gain in power throughout puberty. The play groups are formed locally and are not limited to kinsfolk. As the Chaga do not live in villages but each family in a house standing in its own /

own grove, the population is scattered and the play groups are drawn from a wide area. The composition of the groups is changeable. The older boys meet in the pastures and when they guard the fields at harvest time from baboons and birds. The girls also meet at their own work in the fields, but the nature of it gives less opportunity for corporate activity. Nevertheless they do meet for dancing and singing and games.

The boy's group is not an age group (among the men an age group is the group who are circumcised together, and who pass together through the various stages of seniority). On entering, the boy passess through an initial stage of "fagging", but when this is over he stands more or less equal to any, even the son of a chief, and may achieve leadership. The leadership of the group is generally in constant change as champions in the various activities wax and wane.

Within the group there is anticipation of adult activity and interests, and through these are learned co-operation and the art of social living. The child is largely independent culturally of adult life, and to some extent the group is economically independent too. The boys are given food (except meat) to take to the pastures. By various nefarious means meat is often acquired. Birds also are killed with bows and arrows (a weapon not used by the men) and roasted. Fowl is a taboo food to men. The boy who obtains a fowl or other meat and /

and entertains his mates to a feast acquires prestige and becomes temporarily a 'chief'.

Sometimes dogs are used to hunt bigger game, a small buck or antelope, and the group has a feast. These feasts are exclusive and ruses are adopted to prevent outsiders joining in. The meat is shared out by the leader, in theory equally, but the smaller boys may lose some of their share to a bully.

The food resources of the group are controlled by the 'chief' and goes into a common pool. Food is used as bribes to achieve some rank, or to hire the services of other boys in a task. Within the group a certain amount of bullying goes on, but a parent will not entertain any complaints on this score, and may even beat the complainant for not standing up for himself!

Pranks and practical jokes (particularly against the new entries) are common. Contests of skill, running, jumping, swimming, tobogganning on grassy slopes, wrestling and boxing are indulged in. The wrestling is organised into four rounds, but there are no rules and the contest is 'all-in'. In boxing blows may be landed only on the back and the boys fight stooping. The loser is the one to give in first and boys may continue till utterly exhausted.

Mock battles, using blunted spears and arrows are not uncommon, and broken limbs and other injuries are frequent in these, for there is a deal of rough horseplay.

Not /

Not all the games are athletic, for various more intellectual games are played -- arithmetical games with counters, etc. in which success is much esteemed. In none of the games is there an umpire and the results are decided by public opinion. As among British boys, there is a yearly cycle for the games, certain games showing a tendency to appear at a given season. New innovations, such as the motor-car, are brought into play activity.

The adults recognise the value of the play is hardening and as a form of self-education. Though they do not interfere, they show approval of particular prowess -- the chief may, for example, reward the winners of a mock battle. The adults do also encourage and appraise loyalty to the group, but parents are apt to resent this loyalty when (as it commonly does) it becomes stronger than loyalty to themselves. Indeed, the independence and even rebelliousness fostered by the group are a serious threat to family discipline. The fact that in spite of this the parents have not broken up the groups suggests that either they realise its importance or are powerless to stop this natural phase of development. In either case, the idea of 'self-education' for adolescents already put forward is upheld.

As the child grows older the field of conflict with the parents and other adults enlarges, for his desire and his power to achieve independence grow.

To /

To some extent the anticipatory activity of play may accentuate this resentment of dependence, as it hastens his desire to assume roles above his age. Moreover there is such a difference in status between the adult and the youth that the adolescent begins strongly to desire to undergo circumcision and so achieve adults status. At present the age for this is about seventeen, but boys and girls sometimes use ruses to obtain it earlier and may even perform the operation on themselves.

Another source of conflict between father and son is the fear of the former that the latter may usurp his position. To-day this is accentuated by modern conditions which the children acquire so much more quickly than their parents. There is historic evidence that a struggle between the generations has gone on for centuries, but the rapid changes occurring at present give a definite advantage to the more adaptable youngsters.

The older folk attempt to deride the European culture, and to some extent have a hearing, since the younger people realise that only in a culture of their own can they achieve the independence they desire. A sign of this is seen in the way in which black dolls are now popular. At first the native manufacturers made them white, and black lost favour as a sacred colour. Now the native is swinging from a slavish imitation of all white culture to an attempt to organise his own adaptations of it.

The /

The rites of initiation form a culmination to childhood in most primitive societies. In these rites is seen the attitude of primitive folk to childhood. The child is viewed as something incomplete, not a full member of the society. Indeed in some people (e.g. the Indians of North Carolina) a person dying before initiation is immediately forgotten by the tribe (though not necessarily the parents) as one who has never existed. The degree to which children are excluded from the adult world varies greatly, but in all cases the uninitiated is considered unfit for marriage or to be the head of a household. Usually he is denied economic independence and sexual knowledge and intercourse, even extra-marital. On the other hand the initiate enjoys full adult status and most conform to all adult obligations; even if he is only eight, he must carry a spear and shield and go to war with the warriors. There is thus not the idea of a gradual unfolding from childhood to adult responsibility but a sharp transition from uninitiated state to the initiated.

Among most peoples (though not all) some form of bodily mutilation (commonly circumcision) is central to the rite. In the New Hebrides the initiation is a question of payment by pigs, and poverty may cause a man to be long denied initiate /

initiate status. Included in the ceremonies is commonly an introduction to tribal love and traditional knowledge.

Primitive ideas do not often entertain the thought of a gradual unfolding of a person's powers and appreciation of social responsibilities, but seek to inculcate these in a sudden sharp and indelible lesson. For this reason many societies include in the initiation various forms of terrifying experience which have purpose of rendering the incidents forgettable. Whippings and tortures of all kinds are sometimes found, and also frightening situations with 'ghosts' and hideous noises are manufactured. The Bechuana boys are paraded naked and the tribal laws are recited to them, each accompanied by a powerful cut with a thin stick. The people of Ceram, Malay, place the novices in darkness, and surrounding them with all manner of howls and yells, make their hair stand on end. Among some of the North American tribes, the Papuans and the Basutos and originally among the Chaga, the initiation rites continue over several weeks and not uncommonly some of the novices do not survive the ordeals they are exposed to.

A further affect of these processes is to so bewilder and upset the novices as to throw them, psychologically, upon the elders for support, thereby strengthening the control over them.

Quite /

Quite a common idea is that of rebirth at initiation. This may take the form of casting off the old clothes, as among the girls of Rhodesia, or a fuller notion of a quite new personality, as seen among the Nandi of East Africa. These people give the boys and girls purges and shave their heads, whereupon they are supposed to gain a new personality. In Dutch New Guinea the boys are supposed to go blind on entering the house for their course of instruction, and to gradually regain sight as the mysteries are revealed.

The age of initiation varies enormously. In some cases the novices are hardly more than infants, whilst among some Australian tribes full status is not obtained till the whiskers begin to show themselves. In most cases the parents judge when the child has reached 'an age of discretion' and can appreciate the implications of initiation.

Circumcision and initiation among the Chaga are fairly moderate to-day compared with some of the rites described, but in the past, when a standing army was essential and every man a warrior, the initiation was an elaborate and severe test. Even to-day circumcision (which precedes initiation proper) is a test of manhood and of womanhood. Indeed, in the case of the latter it appears a most gruesome and exacting matter. Both the boys and girls are required to maintain a complete fortitude throughout the proceeding and any weakness or expression of pain may /

may result in disgrace and debarrment from the rights of adulthood. Boys are circumcised at about seventeen. Girls are circumcised at the time of the first menstruation - hence normally earlier than the boys. She is generally affianced to a youth before the ceremony and marries him after the initiation.

As already shown, the child itself has anticipated this matter for a long time, but training for the event has also been given by the parents. Various reasons are given for the custom -- that the male could not deflorate his bride without it, that the pleasures of intercourse are increased, that in the mother birth cannot be normal otherwise, and hygienic reasons. In this, as in most matters, the ancestors are involved and would be displeased if the child did not conform. But the most powerful reason is that of social conformity. Even to-day Christians, who could escape the strong religious compulsions involved, undergo the test rather than incur the public ridicule that would result from non-conformity. Moreover, according to Chaga law, a child would be illegitimate unless the parents were circumcised.

After the ceremony the boy and the girl signify the new status acquired by a change of name.

A /

A further aspect of circumcision is disciplinary. The children are kept in ignorance of sexual matters and the right to procreation. Parental authority is strengthened by the control they hold, which contains the possibility of withholding adult status from the refractory child. The ancestors' interest in the matter is bound up with continuation of the stock, for without the ceremony they can have no legitimate descendants to reverence them.

A particularly obstreperous child may receive in circumcision a kind of accumulated punishment for all his childhood misdeeds by being subjected to a long-drawn out and even more painful process than his mates. Care is taken that the example is conveyed to the younger children as an awful warning. The circumcision is followed by initiation. At one time this was a most arduous business for the boys, who were collected into a special camp and subjected to severe training and tests. To-day it is parallel for boys and for girls. They are taught by a special preceptor (a man for the boys, an old woman for the girls) all the tribal lore, history and customs. Among much exoteric material (such as the myth of the male and plug (men are supposed not to defaecate and must keep this function secret from the women!)) is included a great deal of sound advice on social conduct, matter /

matters of sex and successful marriage. There is advice on the treatment of the spouse, and the rearing of children. The girl is taught sexual hygiene and midwifery (though the old women retain some secrets as special to themselves).

As an example of child-rearing in a quite different culture it is interesting to examine Malinowski's account of family life in the Trobriand Islands. These islands are situated off the coast of British New Guinea, and the people are of Melanesian stock.

This society is matrilineal, and indeed the whole 'theory' of matriliny as it arises in the lore and custom of these people leaves no room for paternity at all. According to their beliefs, a child is a visitor from the spirit world. The souls of the dead, they believe, depart to Tuma, the mythical Island of the Dead, where they pass the time in bliss, forgetful of the earthly life. Here an ageing man sloughs off his old skin and is rejuvenated, but in time he tires of this periodic return to youth, and becomes a prenatal spirit. The Trobrianders are a little vague as the exact process of travel, but this spirit drifts to the shores of the islands with the tide, and enters the womb of a woman as she bathes, to emerge in due course as a reincarnate being. The only part of the man in this event is in deflorating her, for it is recognised that /

that a virgin cannot conceive because 'the way is not open.' Only one coition is necessary, therefore, for any number of subsequent births, but repeated intercourse is supposed to be beneficial in keeping the vagina open, and the semen helps as a lubricant. Malinowski inquired carefully into this point, and it is clear that these people are ignorant of physiological paternity.

It might be supposed that the male side of child-rearing would be absent and that "fathering" would have no place in this community, but such is not the case. Illegitimacy (i.e. prenuptial birth) is strongly censured because, in the natives' own words, "there is no father to the child, there is no man to take it in his arms". The lessons of these four studies are self-evident, and need little further elaboration. Every society has the need of some system of imparting its store of knowledge to the coming generation, most particularly in regard to the religious beliefs and the legal system that give the society coherence. The social aspects of fatherhood are important to these people, in spite of not recognising physical paternity. Whilst pre-nuptial pregnancy is deplored, a man joyfully accepts any children born to his wife after marriage, even if to our knowledge they cannot be his. (Cases are quoted of men accepting children born towards the end of an absence of two or three years).

Incidentally /

Incidentally, although pre-marital intercourse from a quite early age is the accepted thing, and few girls are married as virgins, illegitimate births are uncommon, which Malinowski attributes to relative sterility in adolescence.

According to the body of beliefs of the Trobrianders, children are unrelated by blood to their father, or to any of his family, and the nearest of kin are the mother and her brother. It is recognised, however, that the mother needs a provider and a protector for herself and her family, and this man must have the exclusive sexual rights in regard to her that are essential to the maintenance of coherent family life. The incest rules prohibit intimacy with any member of her own clan, and this of course includes her nearest male relative, her brother. This role of provider and protector must fall to a "stranger", a man from another clan, who becomes the father of her children in the social sense. (Although the father is not a kinsman, father-daughter incest is also prohibited). To sketch the situation out a little more fully, a woman on marriage goes to live in her husband's village. He is the owner of the house, and the master of the household: its affairs are conducted under his orders, but the relationships between men and women are friendly and equal, but in certain matters there is a sharp division of labour /

labour. Cooking is an exclusively feminine occupation. As Malinowski points out, there is a dread among primitive folk of not doing the proper thing, or worse still, of doing something that is intrinsically the attribute of another sex or social class. Women carry loads upon the head, and a man upon the shoulder, and either would be acutely embarrassed to be seen carrying a load the wrong way. The water supply is an exclusively feminine department, the water being collected in bottles: the water-hole is the women's meeting place and the focus of feminine gossip, and they hold an independent body of public opinion.

Much of the work of the gardens is shared by men and women, but certain tasks are exclusive: weeding is done by the women, whereas the heavier work of clearing the undergrowth, building the yam supports, and so on, are done by the men. Canoe building is an exclusively male occupation, but women play an important part in the ceremonial magic-making that protects the canoe from dangers. Sailing and expeditions abroad, to the Papuan mainland and elsewhere, are undertaken by the men. Housebuilding is a joint activity, men building the framework and the women thatching it. Within the house much of the property (including articles such as cooking utensils in common use) are owned separately by the spouses.

Most /

Most of the big or immoveable property, such as land, trees, houses and sailing canoes, are owned by men. It should be noted that this society is matrilineal, but not matriarchal. Inheritance is matrilineal, and a man's property does not go to his son, to whom as we have seen he is unrelated, but to his sister's eldest son. The legal head of the mother's family is not the husband, but her brother, and he has important rights over the children, and plays a leading role in their education. This guardianship over the mother and her children is reflected in the provision of food to the family, not all of which comes from the father's land, but some is supplied by the mother's brother. The father in his turn has a similar responsibility towards his own wards, for whilst the husband stands in this curious relationship to his own children, he has, of course, legal responsibility towards his sister's children. This anomalous arrangement does not prevent the closest ties of affection and interest developing between the father and his children, and indeed it somewhat aids it, as unpleasant matters of discipline are the concern of the mother's brother. The father tends the children from an early age, bathing and toileting an infant and being on the most loving terms with his older children. As already seen, this is considered very important, and illegitimacy is condemned because it denies the child this relationship with a man who will /

will protect and care for it. Between the father and children there exists a deep friendship, which extends most especially to the boys, and he plays the role of helpful adviser, protector and playmate. In the life of his own household he is not so much the authority as the leader, a subtle but important distinction, and it is from the father that the boy learns the place that he will in due course occupy in a household of his own.

The relationship between the father and daughter is a little anomalous, because in adolescence she is debarred from any confiding of her amorous affairs in either her brother or her guardian, the mother's brother, who is a classificatory brother to her. There is a tendency, therefore, to take these matters to the father, and for a rather close relationship to arise. Remembering that to their way of thinking the father is unrelated to the daughter, it is not surprising that father-daughter incest should not be unknown, for although technically forbidden, this does not arouse strong objections from society. However, in spite of the absence of very powerful deterrents, such incest is not widespread, and no support to Freudian theory in this matter is given.

A somewhat surprising feature of the Trobriand family /

family situation is that in spite of the matrilineal situation outlined above, the boy's relationship with the mother is never very close. It is affectionate, but lacks any strong element of personal friendship: there is little exchange of mutual confidences or intimacy, and ties are less strong than that with the father. Malinowski unfortunately does not provide very specific information on the mother-daughter relationship, but it appears that there is rather more contact of an intimate nature between the two. In Trobriand society the peer-culture assumes a rather greater importance than in most, and after weaning both boys and girls spend much of their time in the company of other children rather than with adults.

Particularly in the case of the boy, the mother's brother is the principal agent of education and socialisation. Neither the father nor the mother punishes a child, this duty being performed (though not frequently) by the guardian. When a boy is about six years old, this mentor will begin to take him with him on occasions to work in the fields, or to sail. He inspires the boy with ambitions towards social prestige, and instructs him in the ways of life. A child does, of course, learn a great deal informally from the parents, and formal instruction is not a prominent feature of the child's education, but such as there is comes from this man. It will be recalled that /

that marriage is patrilocal, so that the mother's brother resides in another village, and he is not too much on the spot to embarrass a child with his preceptorial presence.

In spite of the unusual features of Trobriand society and kinship, the same principle of male instruction of boys (this time by a surrogate instead of the father) that was evident in Chaga society is also found. A feature of Trobriand childhood that needs to be mentioned is the wide sexual freedom permitted, but before discussing the freedoms it is necessary to point out the prohibitions. Sexual intimacy is forbidden with any member of the exagamous clan to which the person belongs, especially the closer totemic group which includes the nearer relatives: this prohibition extends outwith these limits to cover father-daughter incest. The supreme taboo is against brother-sister incest, and these must obey the most strict formalities of etiquette. A brother is expected to be entirely ignorant of the sex-life of his sister, and indeed, should he even accidently come across her with a lover, the three are supposed to commit suicide by jumping from a tall palm-tree. (In practice, of course, he would discreetly 'not see'). An older boy will not sleep at home if there is a sister in the house, but sleeps in the bachelor's hut, and will take no part in a festive gathering which /

which includes her. Although sex-games are common among children, they are forbidden stringently between these two. The mother-child taboos are present and observed, but are less stringent: the idea of mother-child incest is less shocking to the native mind than brother-sister incest.

Children are very free from parental discipline and control, and wander and play much as they please. In sex matters, apart from inculcating the above prohibitions, there are no restrictions. Whilst parents will avoid copulating if they know the children are watching, they raise no objections if they are caught in the act. Manipulation of the genitalia and imitative sex games occur in children as young as four or five. Malinowski considers that there is no truly sex play until puberty: the children's games are imitative, and when they play 'mothers and fathers' they naturally bring in all the familiar features of family life, including the copulation that they often witness. Careful observation convinced Malinowski that the pre-pubertal children derived no specifically sexual satisfaction from the act, but merely imitated this along with all the other incidents of domestic life. Games of romance and imagination are common, and by no means all the games are sexual in content. It is of interest to note that in spite of this complete freedom, the tendency /

tendency for boys and girls to separate into distinct play groups (as discussed in the Chapters on the peer-culture) is just as evident in this culture as in our own.

At puberty the boys leave the home to live in the bachelor's hut, or with an unmarried male relative: this is chiefly in observance of the brother-sister taboo. At this time real and earnest courtship commences, not yet with a view to marriage, but aiming to command the fidelity of a lover for a period. The sexes do not mix much in public, leaving this for evening amorous excursions, mostly in single pairs. Formal obligations are not yet contracted, but the youths and girls generally accompany the men or the women respectively in their tasks in the day. In time the love affairs become more serious, and there is less changing of partners. This culminates in an engagement leading to marriage. Marriage involves an ending of promiscuity (which is mostly observed) and faithfulness to the spouse. A man is expected to abstain from all intercourse, even with other wives if the household is polygamous, during both the pregnancy and suckling of an infant. Disobedience of this rule is supposed to bring magical injuries to the child, and such is paternal concern for the welfare of the baby that it is usually observed conscientiously.

The accepted pattern of sex-activity is rather wider than in our own society, but homosexual activities are very uncommon /

uncommon. They are sometimes practised under conditions of deprivation (e.g. when men are working away on plantations for long periods without the company of women) but under normal conditions the practise is disdained. According to Malinowski true homosexuality (i.e. a preference for erotic experience with a person of the same sex, even when heterosexual experience is available) is not found among adults. Close friendships between boys at certain stages of development in our own culture is generally attributed to confinement in boarding schools without the company of girls, but such pre-adult friendships were noted in the Trobriands in spite of the untrammelled access to feminine company outlined above, and it would appear that this is some fundamental developmental feature, rather than a cultural artifact.

Another point of note is the commonness of 'smutty' jokes and ribald humour. These are sometimes regarded as an outlet for the suppressions of civilised life, but they are also a prominent feature of popular conversation among the uninhibited Trobrianders. Just as among ourselves, however, such things are restrained in certain company. Much the same topics are not considered suitable for polite conversation, especially in mixed groups. When strangers are present (and particularly when his sister is about) a man is most correct in his speech, and avoids profane language (the tongue is rich in swear words) or doubtful jokes.

The /

The account of the childhood of the Samoan presented by Margaret Mead is certainly a vivid and most interesting one. It sets out a clear picture of the life of the girl and stresses particularly her emotional and intellectual development in relation to sex. This aspect is undoubtedly of great importance and practical interest to those dealing with the problems facing the girl in our own society. Nevertheless, one feels the value of the work would have been enhanced by fuller details of the other experiences of daily life, and would also have been pleased with fuller details of the life of the boy, but it was not, of course, her intention to give this.

The Samoan child is vague about exact age, but keeps careful account of relative age, as prestige within his group depends largely upon seniority. Only the birth of the first baby is occasion for celebration. The mother journeys to her own village and stays with her own people for the event, which occurs quite publicly and is witnessed by children as well as adults. Subsequent births appear to be regarded with little concern as mere passing events.

The baby is wet-nursed until the age of two, being suckled not regularly but whenever it cries -- a proceeding quite out of keeping with some ideas of infant rearing! Apart from supplying milk the mother troubles little with the child, which is nursed and generally cared for by a young girl, who /

who may be only seven or eight. Walking is not encouraged by these nursemaids, as it increases their worries, but occurs at about one year on the average (this is some three months earlier than in our own families, if by walking Mead implies a steady gait and not the first tottering efforts). Until the child is about five very little attention is given to it, except for 'house training' and the chief concern of the nursemaid is to keep it quiet and not to be a source of disturbance to adults. The young child has little contact with others of its own age, being constantly in the company of the nursemaid. Discipline is enforced chiefly by the next oldest child, so that each in turn becomes responsible for another, but the responsibility is more towards preservation of peace for the adults than towards any character training in the charge. The infant is thus subjected to constant little repressions, irritable 'don'ts', which happily seem to have little effect, either in the future as neuroses or in the present in influencing conduct.

This neglect of the first five years of life is of interest, as modern thought in child psychology is stressing more and more the importance of these years. After the age of five the girl continues to be ignored, but the boy gets more attention. As he grows older he joins with gangs of other /

other boys, who organise into efficient working parties, and assist the youths in fishing and other activities. He thus learns by performance the knowledge required of a man. In due course he paddles a canoe and masters all the techniques of boating and deep water fishing. He learns coconut farming and also the folk-lore of his people and the geneology of his family. To spur him on is the ambition for social prestige, which he may win by proficiency. He is not tied so much by household duties as the girl, and is mostly free to wander as he pleases. The boy learns mainly from older youths, and although Mead's information on this point is not specific, he apparently has little direct contact with the men: the older youths have more of this contact, and pass it down to the younger ones. In the gang the boy rapidly learns co-operation, and Mead states that the boys organise quickly, whereas the girls waste hours in bickering and are without any effective idea of co-operative activity. At seventeen or so the youth begins to take an interest in acquiring rank. In the circular parliament house the roof is supported by wooden pillars, and each man of importance has a post allotted to him, whilst lesser men sit in the gaps. A boy may aim at getting 'a post at his back' as a symbol of prestige; he may seek to become a 'talking chief', an official speechmaker, or a skilled carpenter, fisherman /

fisherman or housebuilder. Such proficiency he learns from a man of skill. He has to be careful not to succeed too much in any activity, however, lest he arouse enmity: the technique is to be just a little ahead of his competitors, for outstanding ability is not appreciated in this community. Members of his family encourage him to succeed, but neither boys nor girls are very willing to undertake responsibilities too soon, because rank involves a dignity of demeanour that is inimical to fun.

Whilst there is virtually no instruction of children by adults, the boys do learn a great deal from the older youths. The girls are handicapped by her duties as nursemaid and running errands, so she cannot accompany either her age-mates or her mother. It is therefore late before she begins to learn cooking or weaving or any of the more complex women's trades. Eventually a younger sister may take these burdens from her, and shebegins to accompany her mother or aunts to their work. She is burdened with a baby almost as soon as she leaves infancy herself, and once big enough for heavier work she takes up the household chores, runs messages, weaves and cooks (though assisted in the heavier work of cooking by the boys). Most of the drudgery of running a family is performed by girls of less than fourteen! From morn till night they toil, with little leisure /

leisure for play or wandering. She learns, very thoroughly, all the domestic lore of the Samoan, and her chances of marriage (and an easier life in due course) depends upon her proficiency. She may also learn some midwifery and simple pharmacy if there is a woman in the household knowledgeable in these things.

In Samoa, from quite an early age, brothers and sisters observe ceremonious avoidances and have little emotional contact again, until old age. Until adolescence boys and girls grow up without any real contact at all, the brother-sister avoidance being extended mutually to all members of the opposite sex. They develop throughout these years with much less emotional contact between them than between our boys and girls in separate day schools, and even less than between children in our boarding schools, who do at least meet and mix freely in the holidays. In spite of this quite rigidly homosexual (using the word in its very widest sense: perhaps 'unmixed' would be a better expression) system of education (and in spite, indeed, of quite an amount of overtly homosexual experience) they do in due course develop naturally and easily into full heterosexual relationships. It is often claimed that segregated education is worse for the girl /

girl than the boy. Yet speaking of Samoa, Mead states "the first attitude which a little girl learns towards boys is one of avoidance and antagonism". From the brother-sister taboo (which is pretty comprehensive, including such harmless activities as eating or sitting together), she extends an enmity to all small boys and by eight or nine has learned never to approach a group of older boys, and this antagonism continues till puberty. She has meantime indulged in masturbation (usually solitary) and also in homosexual play. The boys similarly have been in close contact with one another in the 'aumaga' or gang and have had similar sex experience, though largely in groups. Yet in spite of this, and although (if the theory is correct) the girls at least should suffer, the sexes come together after the boys have been circumcised at about fourteen, with "the minimum of embarrassment" to quote Mead's own words. They hereafter mix for parties, both formal and informal and occasionally for fishing expeditions and the like. It is not till two or three years later that shyness and embarrassment between the sexes becomes evident, and it would appear, therefore, that this is a function due more to some other cause, probably physiological, than to the psychological one of segregation put forward by the co-educationalists. At this time the youth does not approach a girl /

girl himself but does his courting through a friend, the soa, who pleads on his behalf. Both lad and lass may run several affairs at the one time.

From this evidence one might justly conclude that co-education, before adolescence at least, is by no means necessary to the development of a proper attitude towards sex and a proper relationship between boys and girls. It is not until the latter part of adolescence that true heterosexual interests develop among the Samoans -- no sexual intercourse occurs (usually) in the two or three years following the mixing after circumcision.

This part of the book, the Education of the Samoan Child, is really a minor topic in the work, but it has been given some prominence as it holds more valuable lessons to psychology to-day than does the main theme. After all (due much, perhaps, to her efforts), the conclusions Margaret Mead reaches with regard to the sexual education of the adolescent are now largely accepted, though in 1928 they were somewhat revolutionary.

A further aspect of Samoan education which is of interest is its resemblance to certain Victorian ideas. The child is subjected habitually to rigorous subordination. He is ignored by the adults until about the fourteenth year (virtually the adults recognise only two divisions, 'small boys' up to fourteen, and youths). The standards of conduct for 'small children' are these: to wake early, keep quiet, obey and /

and work both hard and cheerfully, and play only with children of the same sex. Youths are expected to be industrious and unpresumptive, loyal to relatives and not trouble-makers, and finally to marry wisely.

In one function only is this 'children-should-be-seen-and-not-heard' attitude abandoned, and that is in the dance. Here the child can really express himself. The adults for once take the background and the girls and boys can laugh and shout and even presume above their ages without reprimand. They become the centre of interest and performance is appraised. Bragging and aggressive exhibitionism are apparent. It is significant that this is the commonest source of inferiority feelings among the children. All other activity is ignored by the adults (unless of course it affects their convenience and then it evokes reprimand). Here alone is real competitive spirit, and it appears to have an unhealthy aspect. It is general experience with children that competition before teachers or other adults is liable to undesirable results, whereas competition among themselves not directed towards obtaining adult approval is a much more healthy and stimulating thing. Mead suggests that it is this freedom in the dance that affects the rigorous adult suppression, a kind of safety valve. But one suspects that it is the fact that the children (and especially the boys) can escape so fully from the presence and interference of adults /

adults to work out their own schemes and their own energies, competing only in their own code and setting their own standards of conduct, that prevents the unhappy results liable to repression. Concerning the sexual education of the child (which, although the main theme of the book, it is proposed to treat briefly, for reasons already indicated) this is more wide and thorough than any other.

Young children habitually go naked. Older children and adults are scantily clad, and bathe and excrete unclad and quite publicly. From earliest days the child is therefore quite familiar with the whole external anatomy of the body and with its functions. These things are shameless. Birth and death are events he has witnessed more than once. The former is regarded by all (even the mother) with small concern. The latter is usually followed by a graveside post-mortem to determine the cause of death, and he may witness this with little concern and no traumatic effect. Possibly he has seen a Caesarian operation performed. Many times he will have seen his parents and others copulating. And all of these are a matterof course, as natural as eating and as unencumbered by shameful feelings.

As he grows older he experiments himself with sexual matters. Masturbation is practically universal among both boys and girls. Adults consider it unseemly for this /

this to be done too openly, but do not condemn the practice as shameful or take any steps to prevent its occurrence in a little privacy. Later, pubescent boys and girls experiment somewhat with homosexual practices, and may even have such experiences with adults. Again, no guilt attaches. By the end of adolescence both boys and girls have usually had their first heterosexual experience. Normally, in both cases, this is with an older married person, possessed of some skill in the techniques, so that the initiation is smoothly done. Mead believes this to be an important factor in the success of marriage afterwards, as neither party is ignorant or inexperienced in these aspects at least of the demands of marital life. Moreover, the permitted patterns of intercourse and its ancillary play are wider and hence marital unhappiness due to deviations of this kind is less likely.

The girl's first menstruation is an expected event. She is fully aware of its implications and it never comes as any shock or source of worry. Menstruation is almost painless. (some Chaga girls do feel menstruation pains, according to Raum) and this suggests that the 'monthly pains' that are experienced by some girls in our society are psychological rather than physiological in origin.

Mead claims that the girl's adolescence is a smooth affair, uncharacterised by 'storms and stress'. Adolescence is not in our own society so universally a period of upheaval as /

as is popularly supposed - reliable authorities (e.g. Hollingworth) give twenty per cent. as the proportion of youths showing any marked difficulty at this stage. Yet among the sixty-eight girls she studied, Mead mentions two confirmed delinquents, one delinquent of lesser degree and one potential delinquent. The seeds of their delinquencies were evidently sown in childhood. (The histories of Lolo and Mala read just like the typical case-histories of any child guidance clinic). These girls were all in early adolescence, and appear to be likely to develop some distress in later adolescence. If between four and fifteen per cent. of the group (ignoring the one potential case) are frankly delinquent and unhappy then we might reasonably expect a further fifteen per cent. to be 'difficult' - it would be strange if this little group stood markedly different from all their fellows, with an empty gap as it were, between them and the normal. At best one finds her contention somewhat unconvincing, when she claims that the Samoan girl enjoys a quite unclouded development. The frank and natural attitude to sex will undoubtedly remove much of the material for discord, but not it all. Sex is by no means the only disruptive force at this period.

Turning /

Turning now to the native culture of Wogeo (or Waigeo) described by Hogbin, these people, like most others, recognise the part played by the father in the birth of a child, though they admit that their knowledge is incomplete. (Most primitive folk appear to regard their particular explanation of any established natural event as full and sufficient: perhaps the Wogeons are particularly enlightened to recognise their own ignorance). According to their theory several intercourses are necessary to conception: indeed a bastard might be the joint product of a number of men! Both parents observe numerous taboos to ensure the well-being of the foetus. The "expectant" father complains (apparently quite genuinely) of heaviness, tiredness and morning sickness: (bachelor fathers do not, however). He gives up fishing and other strenuous activities. This empathy is of psychological interest, and this feature of fatherhood, called the 'couvade', is found in several primitive societies. In addition to this empathy he does display active sympathy, and he aids his wife in her work and relieves her of strenuous duties. A first child may be born at home, but for subsequent births the mother is required to be isolated from her other offspring and a rough hut is constructed at some distance in to the forest. Up to the time of actual delivery the woman is assisted by others, but from this time she becomes virtually /

virtually unclean and the others retire, so that birth occurs in solitude. The father remains at home, generally in a state of anxiety. Unwanted or deformed children may be buried alive at birth, but those developing deformities later are well looked after. After the child is born the mother's isolation continues, and the period of seclusion is most valuable, for she can give herself up entirely to the welfare of the child. Special precautions, mostly of a magical kind, are made to ensure the health of the babe. In native theory the child's spirit is but loosely held within the body, and is free to return whence it came, which it will do if at all dissatisfied. Hence every whim is freely indulged, the child is petted and spoiled and all adults around it become enslaved to it. Temper tantrums terrify the relatives. By the time it can talk, however, the child's spirit is reckoned to be fairly firmly lodged, and some discipline is introduced.

A suckling child is nursed only by the mother (or adoptive mother), for the milk of another woman is considered poisonous to the child. No-one, even close relatives, are permitted to handle the child for long (though the rule may be relaxed for milkless grandmothers), and the mother is the child's constant companion. Handling of infants is supposed to be weakening for males, so the father rarely does so while it is small. The baby is suckled whenever it cries and it is not weaned until about the third year (unless, as is uncommon, there is another pregnancy before this). When, at the end of about /

about a year, the child can eat solid food, it may be left in the care of relatives for a period of the day while the mother is working. Even small babies are bathed daily, and the teaching of personal hygiene is considered important. At the age of two the child begins to enter the sea, and it is not long before the child can swim. In the third year control of defaecation and urination is taught by the mother, and the child shortly learns to aid itself in these functions. The baby is not permitted to crawl and is not encouraged to learn to walk until about two years old, when the natives regard it as more able to look after itself. As is in keeping with the theory of maturation, when it is permitted the attempt, it learns quickly. Hogbin notes that the natives regarded the idea of <u>teaching</u> the child to walk as rather foolish - as they rightly observed, the child learns of its own accord. Few of the children seemed to resent this restriction. With talking, however, the need for teaching is recognised, and the names of common objects are repeated for the child's benefit.

The father is all this time deeply interested in his child, but for fear of the dangers to his health in handling a baby, he does not have much contact until the second year. After the child can walk, the suckling taboos are relaxed, and near relatives or co-wives (if they live in sufficient harmony) may /

may nurse and suckle it. Kinsfolk take pains to make it at home among them. Weaning, at the end of the third year, is normally quite easy. Occasionally it has to be forced, with some evil results.

Some of the features in the later stages are due to the smallness of the villages of Wogeo: the gang-organisation of Samoa is precluded to a great extent, by the few children of an age in any one village. Swimming is the favourite pastime, though games such as wrestling and football are popular, but are played with little spirit of competition. Established leadership is uncommon, and almost anyone may initiate the activity. The parents do take an interest in the activities of even the young children, and on return from work in the evening will talk with them of the day's play: this again may be contrasted with the Samoan attitude.

As is so common the primitive world over, the boy soon begins to associate with his father in his work, and the girl with her mother. There is a taboo against boys playing with girls, which is supposed to stunt their growth, but Hogbin observes that the restriction appears unnecessary, as the boys were quite indifferent to the girls. The remark of Gwa, still but a small boy, when asked to fill water-bottles in a game, is significant: "No, that's women's work; we men don't touch such things".

Older /

Older boys extend their activities to fishing, sailing model canoes (which they build themselves), and mock fighting. Sons of the nobility begin to take the lead. As is common elsewhere, whilst the boys continue to play, the girls become early absorbed into serious activity with their mothers in the work of the household.

Adults tend to consider a child to be responsible, and indeed almost one of themselves, after it is weaned. They talk to it and reason with it almost as with an equal. This is perhaps due to the closeness with which they live together and the experience of life a child so soon gathers. Shortly after weaning a child has land set aside for it, with the conscious purpose of letting it feel its ties to the land from the earliest. Moral training begins as early, and the child very quickly feels himself an integral part of society.

The natives have definite notions on education: they apply the word "steering" to it. They believe that the chief disability in orphanhood is the absence of one to guide the child. A father takes an active and real interest in the education of his son, and the mother of her daughter. They are willing to use much patience in this, and will permit a task to be hampered in order that a child may share in it.

Moral faults in adults are referred back to bad training in childhood, and blame attaches to the father who neglects the training of his son. Indeed, it is considered a sacred /

sacred duty to the nanarangs (the Wogeon Gods) to transmit generation to generation the code they left to man.

As regards sexual education, as is inevitable, it begins very early and in a natural fashion. Children become acquainted with the "facts" by simple observation. There is no rigorous initiation, as for example, among the Chaga. Older boys begin to take an interest in girls in the fullness of time, at about eighteen. They commence then to give much attention to their personal decoration. The moiety system necessitates a bond-friend to arrange meetings with girls (who must be of opposite clan). Every youth has sexual experience (often at first with an older woman) before he finally settles down to marriage - when, technically, he gives up promiscuity.

The four societies mentioned in the previous pages have been taken more or less at random from the many that have been published, although they are studies which give rather more information than usual about childhood. Several generalised conclusions can be drawn from these examples, and these conclusions would be more or less true of most communities in any part of the world. In spite of the extraordinarly wide divergence of detail among primitive societies, there are certain tendencies which are almost universal.

A division of labour between men and women as seen in each of these societies is practically a universal feature of primitive societies, and in many there are tasks which are the exclusive /

exclusive sphere of one or the other, with strong sanctions against infringements. In most parts of the world conditions are such that it requires the endless efforts of all available hands to maintain adequate food supplies, and it is uncommon to find one of the sexes enjoying a life of ease at the expense of the other, for both must work hard. Sometimes the women's work occupies longer hours of the day, so that she appears to work more, but taking into consideration the heavier nature of men's work and the element of danger often involved, on total it generally works out in favour of the women, especially if the time spent discussing matters with the neighbour ~~are~~ is regarded! The division of labour between the sexes is based ultimately on the physiological differences and the woman's need to be freed from dangerous, heavy jobs during pregnancy, or those that will take her far from the home during suckling. This division of labour has the effect of differentiating the sexes in almost all departments of life, but the idea of one sex being inferior to the other, or its work being less valued, is quite foreign to most peoples, and whilst they distinguish men's work and women's work they recognise both as equally essential to the proper running of society. Speaking generally, primitive women have no feelings of inferiority about their place in society for no stigma attaches to femininity, As a result of this clear division of labour a child's education takes /

takes a definite trend according to its sex from quite an early age. The child has no confused notions about the roles of the sexes in society, and quite different upbringing is afforded to boys and girls. The whole of a boy's education is directed quite consciously towards manhood, and the girls towards womanhood.

In two of these communities (Samoa and Wogeo) there is a cultural division between boys and girls, which actively discourages their mixing after early childhood. In the other two there is no such culturally imposed division, but the result is the same, for in none of the four communities do pre-adolescent boys and girls mix. It would appear, therefore, that this tendency for boys and girls to drift apart, to occupy themselves in different interests is an innate one which is independent of direct cultural impositions, although it may be related to the sex-division of labour.*

Samoa is somewhat unusual among primitive societies in having little or no adult instruction of the children. In the majority the parents themselves teach their children, and do it as a labour of love, and usually this is backed up by culturally defined obligations, as among the Chaga, where disgrace attaches to the parents of an ill-bred child. Because of the division of labour this education of the young is shared by the parents. A mother's responsibility towards a son is largely ended after weaning /

*The sex-division is itself determined by fundamental biological considerations.

weaning, and it is the father who educates him, and the boy grows up by his father's side. The girl remains with her mother, who is her preceptor and guide.

In the case of the Trobriand Islands there is also an unusual feature in that the mother's brother instead of the father is responsible for the son's education. In Samoa the boys learn mostly from older boys in the gang, but in all four communities males are taught by males and females by females. This again is a universal feature of primitive education.

Another feature of primitive education that results from the conditions of life is its mediation largely by the family. There are in fact only two major educational influences, the family and the peer-culture. In our society the educative functions of the family are reduced and sometimes confused by a third feature which is added, the school. Such formalised education by professional teachers is quite foreign to primitive systems, except that some do collect the boys, and more rarely the girls, into an age-group for special instruction and training at the time of initiation.

The rites of initiation are another common aspect of primitive education, for most societies denote entrance to adult status by some sort of ceremonial, and usually some form of bodily mark or mutilation is made to distinguish the initiated from /

from the uninitiated. The acquisition of adult status generally carries with it the right to legal sexual experience and marriage, so it is not surprising to find that the genitalia are so often selected as the site of this badge of adult status. Circumcision is the commonest mutilation used in this connection. A few societies strictly prohibit all sex-activity by non-initiates, but many permit lovemaking if not too open. The distinction between legal and illicit activity is important.

Primitive education is never theoretical, it is always direct and practical. This is a very important principle in the teaching of children, and it is greatly to be regretted that our own system is so far removed from this ideal. So much of our instruction goes into the empty air because it is given out of context, and is quite unrelated to the immediate life of the child. This is particularly regrettable in the case of social and moral instruction, because a child's adult preceptors are so often remote from the everyday life of the child. This is especially the case with the father in our society, although teachers also are mostly in contact with their charges only in an artificial and unrealistic situation. In primitive communities a father is on the spot to instruct or correct his son in proper conduct, whereas ours so often has to deal with some reported breach out of context and long after its occurrence.

Prominence /

Prominence has been given in the above accounts to the sex-education of children, but this matter must be seen in proper perspective. Neither children nor adults in primitive society spend all their time in sex-activity, even if some accounts of primitive life may give this impression. Whilst the children do introduce sex activities into their play in a rather more open fashion than in our own, with the younger children this is imitative rather erotic in content, and the greater part of playtime is spent in non-sexual activities. In many societies the bulk of the waking hours are spent in work which certainly has no esoteric elements, being just plain toil. The findings of anthropologists in relation to the sex-education of children has a number of implications for psychology, which will be discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

Chapters 11, 12 and 13.

THE PEER-CULTURE. (SYNOPSIS).

The nature of the available evidence on the peer-culture in our own society makes its discussion somewhat lengthy as much of the data is descriptive in character. The main conclusions which are of importance to this treatise can, however, be stated quite briefly, and a précis of the main points is given here: the evidence upon which they are based can be obtained from the Chapters themselves, though these can be omitted.

Studies of the friendships of pre-school children show that even in situations where there is no external division imposed between boys and girls, definite preference for uni-sex groups is found in the fourth and fifth years, although there is still a great deal of mixed play. Some studies report that girls are less inclined towards mixed play than boys. By about the seventh year the amount of mixed play has dropped considerably, and spontaneous play groups are usually of one sex only: it is interesting to note that girls appear to prefer their own company earlier than boys. Between seven and the beginning of adolescence boys and girls display little interest in one another, and left to themselves prefer to play in unmixed groups.

Studies of the qualities making for acceptance or rejection by the peer-culture show that boys and girls have definite and differing ideas as to the desirable attributes. Boys admire activity and physical prowess, and especially dislike the "cissy" or the boy with girlish attributes. Similarly girls prefer feminine girls. Up to adolescence there are no strong cross-sex preferences as there is little interest in one another, but in adolescence, when "dating" commences, girls have a strong preference for the 'masculine' boy, and admire in a boy much the same attributes as boys admire among themselves. Thus the boy most acceptable to his peers is also most acceptable to the girls. The parallel trend in boys' preferences for girls is less marked, and the 'outcast' from the girls' peer-group may still find acceptance by the boys at this stage.

A feature of the boys' peer-culture which has small counterpart among the girls is the gang-phase, from about eleven until adolescence. Girls show little tendency towards 'ganging-up', and this appears in fact to be typically male tendency at all ages. Gangs do not usually exceed about a dozen members: they are usually composed of a number of two-boy cells, friends who tend to remain togther though the composition of the gangs may change.

In many cases the gang is brought under adult leadership in Scout Troops and similar organisations. Although ganging is a marked feature of this stage, there is still a good deal of activity in two or three-boy groups, which are the more stable units.

Studies are quoted of both innocent and delinquent gangs. In respect of the latter one sees that the peer-culture, whilst playing an important part in certain aspects of social development, is unable of itself to be a progressive preparation for a well-adjusted adult life. Its members are immature, socially, and the peer-culture as a whole is dependent upon its ties with the adult culture to integrate it with society. The relationship between the individual members of the peer-culture and the main culture, represented chiefly by the parents or their substitutes, is of prime importance, without the adults necessarily making a direct entry into the affairs of the peer-culture. Where the parental relationships of the several members of a peer-group are lacking, it is likely to form an anti-social or delinquent gang, because it lacks the link that will keep it in proper adjustment to society.

Whilst the peer-culture may carry a few "passengers" and so help a child with inadequate parental relationships to become integrated into society, too many of these may dilute and retard its function.

The peer-culture is intolerant of children who do not conform to its ideals of the sex-role. The boys' peer-group is especially hostile to the feminine boy, and the boy who is feminised by too close maternal relationships is likely to be rejected and thrown onto the girls' peer-culture, thus becoming further feminised. The deviant girl is possibly less liable to this because ther peer-group is rather more tolerant of the masculine girl, whilst the boys' peer-group is not too ready to accept even a tomboy.

Three main phases in the child's relations with the peer-culture may be isolated. The infant at first has no social contacts with other children, but as these develop he enters the first phase, which is mixed, little or no distinction being made bettween the sexes in the composition of the groups. In this phase the young child aquires the foundations of social relationships with other children. This lasts till about the fourth or fifth year, when a slow transition to the second stage sets in. There is a great widening of the social contacts, occasioned partly by greater mobility and also by increasing skill. Whereas at first the child can only 'notice' another child but not share with him, by the second stage he is able to co-operate in a game or other activity with several children. By about the seventh or eighth year, he it truly into the second stage, which as already mentioned, is uni-sexed; this stage is sometimes called 'homosexual', but this is a misleading description, for there is little of an erotic or specifically sexual nature in it. Although sexually quiescent, this stage is very important to later sexual-adjustment. It is

during this period that the child aquires the social attributes of a masculine or feminine person: these attributes are aquired principally from the like-sex parent (in a manner to be discussed in a later Chapter), but they are practised and consolidated in the peer-culture. This stage successfully completed in adolescence, the young person enters the third stage. To the predominantly a-sexual attitudes of the second stage is added an erotic element, and from acting the social role of a masculine or feminine person, the youth begins to behave the appropriate sexual role also, and the third phase is heterosexual in the true sense. Children who have aquired the social attributes of the opposite sex in the second stage, may now begin to manifest truly homosexual behaviour. The femininised boy in particular may be further precipitated into such behaviour as girls prefer 'masculine' partners, and he may find himself cut off from heterosexual friendships.

As already indicated, the major socialising influence comes from the parents, or parent-substitutes, but the peer-culture functions as a sort of testing ground, where the child can work out in his own experience the social attributes he aquires from the parents. In particular the child practises equal-to-equal social behaviour, and gradually perfects the skills of social life. It offers a medium for this purpose that the family cannot, both because the family cannot normally offer many others of a child's own age and level of maturity, and also because of the special emotional factors that enter into family life. The child must ultimately enter a world of unrelated people, who lack the special interest and attitude to him that he enjoys in the family. The peer-culture makes this introduction to the wide world, which is largely indifferent to him, and in which he must make his way.

Chapter 11.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PEER-CULTURE.

Earlier Chapters have reviewed the cultural factors involved in human development, particularly in regard to sex differences. It has been suggested that innate biological factors are basic to psychological development, and a previous chapter has discussed this in more detail.

In this Chapter it is proposed to discuss the part played by a particular aspect of the culture, the sub-culture made up by a child's friends and associates of about the same age. The abstraction of the peer-culture from the total culture is artificial, and the inter-relationships between the part and the whole are numerous and complex.

During most of his day the child is incorporated in a culture that is wholly or partly adult-dominated, either in the family, in the school, or in the club and other organised leisure activities where a greater or lesser degree of adult supervision is exercised. It is only during the periods of free and unsupervised play that a true peer-culture of children can form. This sub-culture, like any other, will reflect features of the main culture and will be subject to pressures from it. A child has to some extent the choice of his peer-culture in so far as he is able to choose his own free time companions /

companions and activities, and a study of the composition of this peer-culture will centre around the factors determining his choice of friends and play.

The children's peer-culture, as a sub-culture within the matrix of society, is the realm of social activity in which a number of individuals of the same status (that of "children"* in the main culture) congregate to undertake activities which are not under the direct supervision or instigation of adult individuals, and in which these activities are conducted according to rules and customs accepted by the sub-culture. The peer-culture has its own scale of values which may differ from those of the main culture. Roles and status within this sub-culture are determined by the sub-culture. As in the case of the main culture (as defined by anthropologists) the pattern of roles, activities and customs are relatively stable over a period of time, even though the individual members of the group come and go. This sub-culture is, of course, profoundly influenced by the main culture but though the boundary between culture and sub-culture is not a clear one, the latter is recognisable as a separate entity.

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* In primitive societies "children" can be defined as uninitiated persons: no closed definition is required for the purposes of the present discussion, but the chapter covers individuals that would be legally defined as "children" or "young persons".

The discussion which follows will first consider the available evidence on the formation of peer groups among "normal" children - that is, children living at home in their own families, attending day-schools, and having average opportunity for free-play with other children. An attempt will then be made to analyse the influence of the peer-group on the child's development followed by a discussion of the situation applying to the deprived child.

The infant has virtually no contacts, even when brought up with other infants, that could properly be called participation in a peer-culture, and even the young pre-school child has too limited social activities, and is generally too much dependent upon adult supervision, for the formation of anything but the vaguest outline of a children's sub-culture. Though some social activity is seen in the second year, it is probably not until the third year that socialisation is sufficiently advanced for children to create anything that could properly be called a peer-culture.

The most important factors in the formation of the early peer-culture is propinquity (according to Seagoe), and this remains an important factor until the child is sufficiently mobile and experienced to make unaccompanied excursions away from his immediate neighbourhood.

Challman studied thirty-three children, aged twenty-seven /

twenty-seven to fifty-nine months (seventeen boys; sixteen girls) over a six-month period, recording the number of times a child was seen to play with another child. He noted the relationship of chronological age, mental age, personality, co-operativeness, and physical activity. He found that boys preferred playing with boys, and girls with girls. The boys selected companions on the basis of co-operativeness, physical activity and age. Girls showed a similar tendency, though physical activity was a less important criterion. Mental age and personality did not appear important criteria to either boys or girls in their choices (perhaps because at this stage both the differences themselves and the appreciation of them are smaller). Hagman reports similar findings. She found that association outside the nursery school (which generally meant living nearby) was the most important determinant. Green's findings are in agreement.

Parten studied nineteen boys and fifteen girls by the time sampling method, obtaining 781 groupings. She found that approximately two-thirds of the groups were unisex. The five most preferred playmates were noted, and the analysis showed that eighty-one per cent of the girls' favourites were girls, whereas only sixty-two per cent of the boys' favourites were boys. Moreover, the most preferred playmates was a girl in every case with the girls, but seven of the nineteen boys /

boys preferred a girl first. Sex does not appear to be a highly important factor to the younger pre-school child. Hagman found that the younger children showed no preference, but that older pre-school children (particularly the boys) showed a preference for unisex groups. Koch notes a unisex preference among four-year-olds, and Parten and Green both report similar findings. A division of the peer-culture along sex lines is therefore already apparent in the pre-school child, but this preference for the company of one's own sex is not strong, as it is at a later stage, and mixed groups are not uncommon.

In the pre-school years groups are usually very small, commonly only two or three, and the child still spends much time in solitary play (according to Green the five-year-olds spend only about forty per cent of the total play-time in group-play). In the sixth and subsequent years groups become bigger and play more organised. Definite activities, such as playing "mothers and fathers", involving different roles, become evident. The models for many of the games are taken from the contemporary culture, whereas others are traditional. These group games could perhaps be classified under three heads: (a) those modelled on isolates of the contemporary culture familiar to the child ("shops" or "Schools"); (b) those modelled on activities not directly familiar to the child /

child but acquired through books or the cinema ("ships", "cowboys and indians"); or those taken entirely from fiction; (c) traditional games ("highcockalorum", "hopscotch", "hide-and-seek"). The first two groups are of particular importance to this discussion as they involve role-taking behaviour. The last group is more purely physical in nature, but it does involve obedience to rules and other valuable features of social education.

At this stage of acculturation groups are commonly mixed (where opportunity permits), and roles are distributed without much regard to sex (except in such games as "mothers and fathers"). Children are, of course, quite aware of the differences between the sexes (see Conn), and appreciate the different roles involved, but do not yet make them a fundamental influence in the peer-culture.

Even quite early differences become apparent in a child's acceptability. Some may be observed as popular in most or all groups in which they participate, whereas others are consistently ignored or even actively rejected. The basis for these selections are not always apparent to adults. In a study quoted by Moreno teachers were asked to judge which children would receive most and fewest votes as desirable companions, and their judgments were compared with the children's choices. At the first grade (i.e. five to six-year old children) they were forty-five per cent correct; at the seventh /

seventh grade only twenty-five per cent correct. Prejudices undoubtedly enter into these selections, but on the whole children are probably accepted or rejected on their own merits according to the scale of values peculiar to the sub-culture (see, for example, Mineham in the discussion of the next stage of acculturation). Jersild quotes an example (1947 p. 155) "An elementary-school class, at Christmas, presented a corsage to the teacher with a note: "From all of the class, except Bill". It was discovered that poor Bill had the will but not the pennies to contribute: some of the other pupils, similarly poor, had borrowed money from the very teacher to whom the gift was presented, but Bill refused to do this. Most adults would regard his stand as quite admirable, but it is unlikely that this fact would remove the sting of censure". It is evident in this case that the scale of values of the peer-culture were immature and lacked a proper appreciation of the issues involved. Bill was a martyr to his greater insight into ethics!

Children may also be observed to occupy consistent status as leaders or as followers - not of course that a given child is likely to be always leader, particularly if the groups change membership frequently, but some are observed to hold such status more often than others, and some never at all.

During the eighth year, or therabouts, changes begin to be evident in the sub-culture, which now cleaves into two parts which have a largely independent existence. Girls and boys drift apart into single-sexed groups and here they engage /

engage in distinctive activities. In this stage of development we have in effect separate male and female sub-cultures. The changes at this and other stages are not abrupt, and are subject to wide variations both in individual cases and in different places. Whilst all studies of the subject agree as to the existence and nature of this change, there is rather wide variation as to its time. Lehman and Witty place the age as early as six, whilst Cole speaks of eleven or twelve. The difference is probably due to local factors in the cultures studied, and also to varying standards as to the relative amounts of unisex play that is taken to constitute a preference. Eight appears to be an average figure, and agrees with observations by a number of anthropologists in scattered communities. It also corresponds with the age at which the boy in primitive societies commonly loses the maternal ties and identified himself strongly with his father and with men's activities. In many societies it is an age when mere play ceases and the child begins to take a place in the economic structure of the society. The upper limit of this phase, like the lower, is rather indefinite so far as groups are concerned, and is subject to wide individual variation. Although the changes in interest and social attitude observed as the child passes through the phases are probably determined basically by psycho-physical maturation, they /

they are also highly susceptible to cultural influence, and the time of leaving school is probably an important factor in bringing this second phase to an end. The age range for this phase is about eight and a half to fifteen years for boys and about eight to fourteen for girls.

It is of interest to note that this drifting apart of the boys and girls appears to be initiated by the girls. According to both Gesell and Ilg and to E.H. Campbell the girls commence to form these more strictly unisex groups at a rather earlier age than the boys, and it is the girls who segregate themselves at an age when boys would still be prepared to mix with them.

E.H. Campbell summarised her observations of girls as follows: "In this period the girl shows no interest in what boys are doing merely because they are boys. She will not stay long in a group of boys if she is the only girl. In choosing sides she is likely to choose girls unless it is a game involving physical skill, when she may choose a boy in the interests of victory. She prefers men to boys. She will not participate in an activity unless other girls are included ...".

The boy enters the corresponding stage about six months later than the girl (E.H. Campbell places the age at nine for the boy).

The phase of the boy's development has been described by many writers (e.g. Furfey) as the "gang-age". There is certainly a rather marked tendency at this time for boys to collect /

collect in fairly permanent groups, sometimes with a distinctive title and code of rules, a regular meeting-place, initiation ceremonies, and so on. As a matter of fact, it is a distinctly masculine tendency at all ages and in very diverse communities both primitive and complex, to form groups or clubs of one sort or another: it appears to be almost universally less common among girls and women. Although there may be a peak in this "clubbing" tendency among young males at this stage, there seems to be no reliable estimate of the proportion of boys that maintain a consistent membership of a gang. The available evidence suggests that the majority of boys do not in fact form their major attachments with an organised gang. Rather they form close friendships of one or two other boys, and are consistently in the company of one another. It is these two or three cell units that form the more stable element, and these units aggregate in larger but more transitory clusters for specific purposes, such as a game of football. Where larger units or gangs exist with a more or less permanent and stable membership (either officially as in Scout Troops or Boys' Clubs or unofficially in street gangs, etc.) it is likely to be composed of these cells: if one pal leaves the group the other generally goes too. Malinowski mentions similar close friendships between pairs of boys, in the Trobriands, which often continued into adult life.

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A number of boys (though just what proportion is difficult to say) are solitary, having no close friendships. In some cases these have repeated but rather superficial fellowship with a number of friends, other cases (probably pathological) have no friendships at all.

On the question of delinquent gangs, Burt, in his study of delinquency, found that about eleven per cent of his boys belonged to gangs of three or more members (of ages mostly twelve to sixteen years). Although organised gangs which terrorised districts were not uncommon before the first World War, Burt states the majority of such groups to-day are casual associations rather than organised bands. The remaining eighty-nine per cent of his cases worked either singly or in pairs. He found no delinquent girls working in groups of more than two, and practically all worked alone.

To call this stage of development the "gang-phase" is perhaps to give a false emphasis to this feature. Gangs undoubtedly form and probably most boys belong at some time to a gang or group of one kind or another, and whilst the influence of the gang is doubtless strong, a stronger influence is probably worked by the small groups of two or three. Girls, it appears, confine themselves more exclusively to the groups of two or three close friends and larger groups or gangs with a sustained history rarely form spontaneously, though /

though they may be successfully fostered by adults, as in the case of Girl Guides, and other girls' organisations. Membership of such organisations is substantially smaller, however, than that of the corresponding boys' organisations.

Tryon conducted an investigation into the qualities and characteristics admired by boys and girls in the eleven to twelve year age range. In the boys she found that the qualities most admired were competence in games, ability to lead, fearlessness and readiness to take a risk, enthusiasm, aggressive boisterousness. They did not think it was good to be too tidy in appearance, or to be submissive and reserved. Gentleness, friendliness and sense of humour were acceptable qualities if combined with the more "masculine" virtues.

E.H. Campbell, in her study of boys aged nine to fourteen, found that they had a preference for the company of boys and their natural groupings were almost entirely composed of boys. This tendency is probably strongest in the ten to thirteen period, when there is a strong distaste for the company of girls. According to Furfey, "the ultimate insult to the lad at this period is to call him a sissy and his idea of absolute zero in amusement is to call on a girl".

Girls at the same age strongly disapproved aggressive and boisterous behaviour, and objected to restlessness and other /

other disturbing behaviour in the classroom. The qualities they described as desirable were to be friendly, pretty, tidy and quietly gracious, with quiet good humour and docility. To be a tomboy was acceptable (that is, the tomboy was not ostracised), but was not a reputation to be sought.

As Tryon points out, the characteristics of the girl at this stage approximate closely to the adult norms of acceptable behaviour, particularly for children.

The children referred to in the above study were at a junior high school (U.S.A.), and of rather superior socio-economic status. Mineham, in a study of young tramps on the roads of America during the depression years, describes these boys as also admiring physical skills and fearlessness, but the skills were different. Instead of prowess in a ball game or in athletics, they valued skill in "catching" rides on the railways, and avoiding the guards: "At the top of the hierarchy are the aristocratic 'passenger stiffs' who ride nothing but through trains". In Spain the boys tend to play at bull-fighting, and here again the basic requirements of skill and venturesomeness are seen, even though the activity is different.

Thrasher has presented an illuminating account of the juvenile gangs in Chicago in the 1920's. Owing to special circumstances /

circumstances the peer-culture became very powerful at that time, and also owing to these circumstances the gangs which formed within this sub-culture were largely delinquent. Although delinquent and somewhat extreme, they are in other respects typical of the peer-culture of boys in the gang, and throw into relief many interesting features of the boys' social psychology at this period.

In an analysis of 895 gangs Thrasher found six to ten members to be the modal size, and sixty-five per cent of the gangs were under twenty in membership. In age range his groups varied somewhat from those that appear typical in Western culture generally, being about six to twenty years. Forty per cent of the boys were in the eleven to seventeen range, and a study of his material seems to uphold the view that ganging for its own sake had a peak in the nine to fifteen age range. Younger children either joined or were brought in for special purposes, and were "fringers", whilst the older members maintained gang connections for ulterior (and usually criminal) motives. Though he does not make a specific analysis of the time a gang holds together, he gives a number of examples of groups that lasted over a period of two or three years, and some even longer. Not all of the gangs /

gangs studied were delinquent and some were commendable organisations: in the non-delinquent groups the primary activities were mostly athletic. It was the gangs that collected without some central purpose that generally became delinquent, though it is not possible to decide for certain from the evidence Thrasher supplies whether they became delinquent through having no aim and purpose, or whether they were aimless because the members were of a delinquent type. From the descriptions he gives of the members of these aimless clubs, they were hyperkinetic, emotionally unstable and of rather low intelligence: typical delinquents in fact. One therefore suspects that the latter alternative was the case.

The rise and fall of one gang of seven boys aged twelve to fourteen years is illustrated by the history of the "Tigers". They were first drawn together by the need of mutual protection from the neighbourhood bully. With these superior numbers the bully was duly "beaten-up" and the solidarity of the group established. The ringleader desired dictatorial control, but after much discussion a compromise was arrived at by which this ringleader was Captain and other members held subordinate offices. Everybody was satisfied, as everybody was an officer. A new shack was built, meals cooked and the gang flourished.

Numerous /

Numerous applications for membership were received, and eventually a further three were admitted. This was, however, a fatal step as frictions commenced, and two cliques were formed. In due course the gang split and with unity thus weakened both parties quickly expired as effective gangs.

Another non-delinquent gang, but with a more successful history, is the so-called "Righteous Gang". This consisted of three Protestants, one Catholic and one Jew. In spite of these differences the five boys stuck firmly together for several years. The gang early conceived a desire to do the right thing: it was an established rule that any member being profane should receive a kick from the others. They concentrated on physical culture, undertaking body-building exercises; they spent much time camping and did not smoke. This non-smoking rule was eventually an influence on the neighbourhood boys. At first the group was ridiculed and the nickname "righteous gang" was given in opprobrium. However, the gang was able to maintain its own in a fight, and the members gained such success in school athletics that the respect of the others was gained.

The chief of the gang was a well-developed lad with a pleasing personality and great qualities of leadership.

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A notable point is that this boy's father (A German immigrant) and a Catholic) was a man of good education and sympathy, having high moral standards: he had a great influence on his son, and through him on the gang. This boy ran the gang on Scout lines, though not officially attached to the organisation: he was a democratic leader. The other four boys were rather diverse characters. One was primarily a student though he applied himself to athletics. Another had little interest in formal athletics but was very keen on camping and hunting.

A further example of gangs of a sturdy non-delinquent type comes from a lumbering community. Here there was good but rough home-life. The gangs usually numbered about a dozen boys of ages ten to sixteen years. The activities were moulded on those of the men in the lumbering region. They had log-cabins in the woods and hunted for fish and game. The prized skills were axemanship and proficiency in the outdoor life: they walked great distances and prided themselves in hardihood.

Within a gang each member tends to have definite status, particularly where the gang is at all organised, so that division of labour is necessary. Even a rather low level of activity, such as seeking out and being avenged of a bully, requires leadership and co-operative effort. Gangs tend to have a three-fold organisation with an "inner-circle" - the leader and his lieutenants, the "rank-and-file" who are good /

good ordinary members, and the "fringers". The last group is composed of younger boys and admirers who are not yet admitted to fuller membership, who may be irregular in attendances upon the gang and do not usually join in the more venturesome activities. Within this structure the boy has his recognised position according to his qualities. He may lack physical powers, but be the "brains" of the gang, or the "funny-boy". In some gangs a boy may be valued for some special skill, whether this is as a batsman in a law-abiding gang or as an expert picker-of-locks in a delinquent one. A particularly undesirable status (generally leading to exclusion) is a "sissy", the effeminate boy, the non-fighter, or the bookish boy who lacks other redeeming features. The culture at this period is distinctly Philistine!

The qualities for leadership within the gang depend upon its nature and activities, and vice-versa. The leader must have in good measure those qualities valued by the group. The evidence strongly suggests that boys' groups everywhere tend (at this age) to give primary place to the qualities of "masculinity" as they interpret them, and despise qualities considered /

considered as feminine. Just what are considered masculine qualities differs rather widely from culture to culture, but in general they include prowess in physical activity of one sort or another and fearlessness. The type of physical prowess may be skill in ball-games, in swimming or in gang-warfare. Fearlessness may be interpreted as courage before physical danger or in rather more negative terms as disrespect for the police and the rights of property (though the latter interpretation places the evaluation of the law-abiding adult upon the matter: it may not appear so negative to the gang-boy).

According to Thrasher, if he has these qualities plus imagination and an ability "to make things interesting", a boy has high chances of leadership. Even the latter alone may suffice, and he quotes instances of a boy with a physical defect but good organising ability making an acceptable leader.

Though in some cases a gang forms about a leader, he states that the reverse is more common. The gang forms and the leader emerges.

A.J. Murphy has described leadership status as dependent upon the ability to clarify, and to represent or give concrete expression to the needs and purposes of the group. It is upon his ability to perform this organising function /

function that real and sustained leadership depends, and the bully who relies on mere physical superiority to maintain his position is not likely to hold the gang together for long. However, no leader, whatever his ability, can be sure of maintaining his office. In the sort of spontaneous gang we are discussing (as opposed to a Scout Troop or Boys' Club) the leader has not the backing of any authority or constitution, and the emergence of a more able leader may bring about his deposition. Moreover, changes in the outlook or activity of the gang itself (as when new members come in) may alter the values of the gang in ways which render his abilities unsuitable. Gang leadership is therefore liable to fluctuation.

It will be noted that throughout this discussion of the gang no mention has been made of girls in them. The fact is that whilst it is not unknown for girls to be admitted to a gang, it is not at all common. This has been attributed to convention. However, Thrasher's study covers a great many gangs that scorned convention to the extent of robbery and murder. These gangs also defied the sexual conventions, and he describes such activities as the "gang-shag", in which a whole gang of fifteen or twenty boys would have relations with a girl or woman one after the other. Although convention was ignored to the extent of depravity, the gangs still remained almost exclusively male, and it seems evident that this condition depended upon something more fundamental than mere cultural convention.

As we saw in the previous Chapter, the same sex division is clearly marked in primitive communities, both in those that compel boys and girls to play apart, and in those that impose no obligation to separation. This divergence was not at all affected by the freedom of sex-play between boys and girls that is allowed, and it cannot be claimed that this so-called homosexual stage is an artificial result of the deprivation of the company of the opposite sex. (The term 'homosexual stage' is misleading as it implies active sexual liaisons between persons of the same sex, whereas all that is implied here is single-sex groupings which need not involve sex-behaviour at all. The sexes do not separate in order to indulge in overt homosexual behaviour, although this sometimes does occur incidentally, and to dwell too much on such behaviour is to over-emphasise what is in fact only a minor aspect of the question. For this reason 'unisex stage' is a preferable term for this phase of development).

Whilst sexual activity of various sorts, both homosexual and heterosexual, was found among prepubertal boys in the delinquent gangs, and more commonly in the adolescent delinquent gangs, it did not appear to be by any means a primary activity, but rather something in the nature of /

of an incidental diversion. The primary function of the gang (even when free of any restraint) appears to be to engage in those physical and energetic activities characteristic of boys at this stage. Sexual activity is not of very great importance, and when indulged is usually outwith the gang.

Whilst the foregoing discussion of these American gangs does throw some useful illumination on the boys' peer-culture, I do not think that these rather highly organised gang-activities are so common in British life. Thrasher's study is concerned mainly with the situation in Chicago in the 1920's, where special circumstances applied. The parents of these boys were largely immigrants who had come from the more backward rural areas of Europe into the big city. In many cases they had very imperfect command of the English tongue: they had been uprooted from their own familiar cultural background and placed in a totally different setting. The parents were themselves uncertain and disorientated, and unable to hold and guide their children. Their children much more quickly assimilated the new culture and the new language, and a rift between the attitudes and values of parents and child was inevitable.

Under /

Under these conditions a break between the family-culture and the children's peer-culture was an unavoidable result: developing values and interests markedly different from his parent's, the child would of necessity be thrown more heavily into the congenial peer-culture, so that this sub-culture would largely displace the family and achieve an exaggerated importance.

Delinquency would not be an inevitable result of these conditions alone, but added to these were the unemployment, poverty and squalor of the depression years, which forced both parents and children into crime.

Clubs and fraternities of one kind or another (the vast majority being entirely innocent) seem to be a feature of American male-life, and possibly are related to this feature of divergence between the generations in immigrant families.

A further factor which probably helped the integration of these gangs was the activities of the community at large and the police in particular. Once a gang became foul of the law this very fact of collective danger would increase the solidarity of the group. The rivalry that existed between gangs in overlapping territories would have a similar effect. Furthermore, as gangs became /

became more a feature of the culture, gang-membership would have enhanced value in the peer-culture, so that more and more boys would wish to identify with a gang. The total effect of these various factors would all give the gang an exaggerated importance.

Whilst a tendency to seek out the company of his peers, to leave the family to some extent to congregate with his fellows, is a normal thing with boys at this age; it is probably a sign of family disintegration when these gangs become highly organised. Normally they should supplement and not displace the family.

According to Fortes, this gang phase as a hostile and disruptive force is not found among the Tallensi, where father-son relationships are especially affectionate and strong. The boys' groups exist in Taleland just as they do elsewhere, but they are not a source of conflict and divided loyalties between the generations. It seems likely that a good father-son relationship bridges the gap between the generations, and that delinquent gangs are a result of unsatisfactory father-son relationships.

As already suggested it is probably the firm friendships of two or three boys that are of more fundamental influence (this a point upon which further research is needed), though the larger groupings are undoubtedly of importance. The tendency, so far as British boys are concerned, is to join a constituted organisation (such as the /

the Scouts, Boys' Brigade or Clubs of various kinds) which has more or less adult domination, and the attitude of his particular pals to such membership is of determinative importance. (One suspects that these organisations have in fact taken the place of spontaneous gangs that used to exist before their foundation. Burt mentions delinquent gangs in the period before the first World War that terrorised districts. Such small gangs as that which revolves around the well-known William Brown are probably more typical of the eleven to thirteen year- old's spontaneous activities to-day, though the average gang perhaps leads a more prosaic existence than that portrayed by Richmal Compton).

These two (or more rarely, three), boy relationships may become quite close, and a real devotion may exist between them. Hero worship of one for the other may form the basis, and not infrequently one leads and the other follows, though not always. In one specific example two activities were the main occupation of such a pair, building radio sets and photographing railway trains. In the first one was the more skilful and had greater knowledge and he led in this activity. In the case of photography the other assumed the lead. In each case "leadership" was democratic and /

and rather indefinite. The existence of a strong bond of this kind does not preclude other attachments. Each of the above pair had quite strong friendships apart from one another: it is of interest to note that these other friends did not become mutual friends, which would have formed a gang. This was probably because the outside friends did not share the interests that held the two together so closely.

Thrasher, in a brief discussion of the two-and-three boy relationships, points out these relationships may become completely satisfying, so that the need for the recognition of a larger group is absent. The gang becomes superfluous to these boys.

The nature of the interests is probably of great importance as a decisive factor. The above pair were highly individualistic and had little enthusiasm for athletics. (Not that they were inactive - they walked and cycled considerable distances). Their interests were best carried out in pairs: a two-man football team is of no value, and those whose interests lay in this direction would be forced to find a larger community.

Although these close boy-friendships might be described as homosexual (Miller, for example, uses this expression), they are such only in the broadest sense of the word. Typically they have no erotic element, and no question /

question of a specifically sexual basis can be assumed as general to the particular phase under discussion (the eight and a half to fifteen age group, or more accurately, in the eight and a half to puberty period). These friendships are between boys of similar ages and both pre-adolescent. The truly homosexual attachments that may exist between adolescent and pre-pubertal boys, with a wide difference in age, is another question altogether. In these cases the pair normally do not associate except for this specific purpose. As pointed out earlier, a preferable expression for the friendships under discussion is therefore 'unisex'.

The girl's development during this period has also followed unisex lines, but the gang tendency is absent. Like boys, girls form two-and-three groups, but the ties between the pair (which are much more common than trios) tend to be stronger. Collins (1927) shows evidence in the Pressey Cross-Out Test (applied to Scottish and English children) of greater affectivity for girls, and Terman and Miles report similar findings from the responses to their M-F Test (though rather more than half their subjects were older than the age range under discussion here). Darley presents further evidence, in which test results were compared /

compared with clinical interview, substantiating these findings. Terman (writing in Carmichael) remarks that the preponderance of evidence from personality inventories indicates this greater emotionality of females.

H.M. Campbell found that a group of seventy-seven boys and seventy-five girls at the end of this period (i.e. at about fourteen years) showed more "clique-formation" among the girls. She also found the girls more critical of "outsiders". Girls at this age have fewer associations than boys and their social relations are more rigidly structured. Wellman (1926) reports similar findings.

One might expect, therefore, that emotionality of girls and the tendency to small group formation will lead to rather intense friendships between pairs. Whilst (as already suggested) boys at this age also form such friendships they tend to divide their time more among a wider range of fellows, and the ties are more those of common interests than of emotion.

E.H. Campbell, in her summary of the girl's stage of development at this period, states that she shows no interest in what boys are doing, merely because they are boys. She will not stay with a group of boys, but prefers men to boys. She may be shy with boys (particularly with a group). Towards the end of this period she becomes aware of /

of sexual attraction: she is very modest about clothing and contacts with males, and also becomes conscious of the potentialities of dress. She will not yet, however, admit to an open interest in boys: this is a feature of the following stage.

The information on the girl's peer-culture at this stage is rather meagre, and this brief discussion does not give justice to the subject. Further research is needed. However, certain useful generalisations are apparent.

The interests of the two sub-divisions of the peer-culture differ rather widely at this period: the boys' interests reflect the premium they put on action, whilst the girls' interests are less active but more inclined towards the social. These differences are reflected in a study by Terman et al (1925) of the play interests of 554 gifted and 474 unselected children, aged approximately eight to thirteen years. The boys' interests were concerned more with "making and doing" (e.g. tools, shooting, football, fishing), whilst the girls preferred dancing, sewing, playing school, dressing-up and dolls. Certain games, like hide-and-seek, dominoes, card-games, were "neutral", that is, liked more or less equally by either sex. Lehman and Witty report similar trends, with greatest divergence of interest between /

between eight-and-a-half and ten-and-a-half. They also found boys to have rather wider ranges of interest than girls. In a later study they found that eighty per cent of the boys and eighty-five per cent of girls collected at some time or another, but according to Whitley the differences in what was collected were not very marked except in the case of marbles (by boys) and pieces of cloth (by girls).

In reading interests, boys showed a marked preference for adventure books, whilst girls prefer novels and stories of a more romantic type (Jordan; Terman and Lima). In an analysis of the well-known books (which are freely and equally accessible to boys and girls through libraries and other facilities) that are actually read, Terman and Lima found that the lists for boys' and girls' favourite literature showed little in common.

In a study of cinema interests, Mitchell found a marked preference of boys for films of adventure and Westerns whilst girls preferred romance and tragedy.

A number of studies of the best-liked school subject report consistently a preference by boys for the scientific subjects and by girls for languages (see Terman in Carmichael, 1946).

Studies /

Studies of social interests show that girls are predominately interested in persons, whilst boys have a greater interest in things. Girls, for example, are more likely to indicate a choice for activities involving people, whereas boys choose activities involving manipulation of machines.

Physical factors are also of importance to acceptance by the peer-culture, though on the whole children are very tolerant of these matters. A deformity per se is probably not a common source of rejection: the more important factor is the personality distortions (if any) associated with it. Byron's club-foot is a classic example of a deformity which aroused feelings of inferiority that made him a difficult person to be friendly with. The important factor is not the deformity itself, but the person's reaction to it which reflects upon his relations with others. Schonfield presents a study of a large number of boys whose personality difficulties stemmed from fear of physical inadequacy, mostly unfounded. These boys showed deviations of various sorts - small stature, obesity, delayed puberty, etc., but in the majority of cases they were within the range of normal variability. In many cases these feelings of inadequacy influenced their approach to their peers and prevented assimilation into the peer-culture. It was rarely a matter of primary rejection by the sub-culture, but rather the individual cutting himself off by his self-reactions.

Not /

Not only physical inadequacy (felt or real), but any feelings of inadequacy may inhibit a child's approach to the peer-culture and quite effectively cut off participation. In particular, the girl who, from inadequate identification with a mother-figure, feels uncertain of her own femininity or the boy who for lack of a father-figure is uncertain of his masculinity, may suffer this psychological barrier to assimilation in the appropriate section of the peer-culture.

The third stage of acculturation corresponds with adolescence, and it is in this stage that the child moves from the peer-culture into the adult culture. Most primitive communities have a ceremony of initiation which clearly divides the child from the adult. This initiation frequently involves a period of testing as well as mere induction and those not passing the initiation test may be denied adult status (which usually means losing the right to marry) or the failer may be killed, or in the case of a boy in some tribes, be passed over to the women. The tests, where they are involved, are usually physical and sometimes are very severe. Quite often the initiation period involves special tutoring on such questions as marriage or tribal lore, or the initiation into secret lore which is private to adults of the one sex. These rites of initiation perform a useful function in giving the individual certainty of his adult status. It does, moreover, define the conduct proper to an adult, and commonly /

commonly draws a clear distinction between the conduct proper to one sex and the other. There being no such dividing-line in our culture, some amount of uncertainty exists among adolescents as to what status they occupy, and this may be a source of conflict. Instead of a sharp transition into adult status, the process is a prolonged one, and some indeed, (psychologically speaking), never reach the end of it.

It is the girl who first enters this third stage. According to E.H. Campbell her value systems have radically changed, the girl becomes interested in boys and (which is ancillary) her appearance. The boys of her own age are not yet interested in her, however, and this causes a certain amount of dominative and boisterous behaviour on the part of the girl as she finds it necessary to attract attention. Leaders of mixed clubs have reported a certain amount of friction because girls of fourteen and fifteen have tried to come in on the activities of boys of fifteen and sixteen who are not yet interested in them. However, in due course, the boys too develop heterosexual interests. Mixing with girls is at first in groups, the friendships of the previous stage being maintained, but in time instead of groups of boys meeting groups of girls, girls and boys meet alone, and this passes from mere "dating" to courting. According to E.H. Campbell's study, girls tend to admire in boys those qualities that boys themselves consider desirable. Boys' ideal qualities

by /

by this time have expanded somewhat from emphasis on games, skills and daring (which are still much valued) to include social poise and confidence. They now consider boisterous, restless behaviour to be childish, and look towards the more manly qualities. As will be elaborated later, it is the preceding stages that lays the foundations for those qualities that emerge in this stage, and the boy who for one reason or another has been retarded in his development in these earlier stages will not have adequate development in this. If the qualities that girls admire are those masculine attributes that emerge at this time, the boy of retarded development will be handicapped in his adolescent relations with girls, and later on in mating.

E.H. Campbell found that boys do not appear to be so restrictive in their choice, for they did not tend to limit their choice of girls to those who had qualities admired by their fellows. Girls ignored or even rejected by other girls were often acceptable to the boys. (Note that this fact does not help the boy who is left out by the girls' choice).

The interests of boys and girls at this stage are still (on the whole) widely different, but they are now complementary. The boy, for example, still retains his keen interest in games, but with a new emphasis. The girl on the touchline now becomes an additional factor in the situation.

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The girl, too, takes an interest in boys' games, though not predominately in their technicalities. Her interest is in the boy who plays. The boy becomes somewhat interested in dresses, though in quite a different way from the girl. As the boy's and the girl's peer-cultures come together their interests may fuse to some extent, but they have quite different values to each. It appears that the text-books rather over-estimate the amount of heterosexual interest: personal observations suggest that both youths and men still spend a great deal of time in their own company, and one suspects that (so far as British communities are concerned at least) a survey of the actual time spent in mixed and one-sex company would show a rather high proportion of time in the latter.

The children's peer-culture therefore passes through three stages, during which the child passes through phases of acculturation from which he emerges (if not arrested on the way) as a conforming individual fully absorbed into the main (adult dominated) culture of his society. Throughout these periods he does, of course, remain a member of the society-at-large: he makes frequent plunges into this specialised sub-division, mostly in play.

Stage 1 is heterosexual, boys and girls mixing without great /

great regard for sex-differences (age three to eight approximately).

Stage 2 is unisexed, boys and girls developing different interests and activities and forming largely independent peer-cultures (age eight to fourteen or fifteen).

Stage 3 is once again heterosexual, boys' and girls eventually going in pairs (which they did not do in Stage 1).

By the end of this stage the peer-culture has merged imperceptibly into the main-culture. There is, of course, no sharp transition from one stage to another, but a slow movement.

The child's choice of friends.

The characteristics of the peer-culture, the standards of behaviour it values, and the general range of interests, have been outlined. It is reasonable to suppose that conformity with these standards influence the child's choice of friends.

A number of non-psychological factors will, of course, have important bearing on the choice of friends. Children in isolated rural districts, for example, may have their choice severely restricted by geographical factors. Young children in particular are limited by the friendship facilities offered by the immediate neighbourhood. Parental dictates may also bar some associations and encourage others. The following discussion assumes that the child has a reasonably unrestricted choice of companions compatible to himself.

Jenkins /

Jenkins, in a study of junior high school children (280 strong) in a Californian town, found that the socio-economic status of the parents had the highest correlations with friendship, and this was not due merely to children living in homogeneous neighbourhoods, as seventy-five per cent made friends outside their home district. Friends were of similar chronological age, and of approximately the same intelligence. This study found only slight tendency towards similarity of interest, but the criteria on this point may not be reliable.

Kuhlen and Lee report a change in the value-system between the sixth and twelfth grades. They found boys and girls to judge acceptability according to those peer-culture standards already enumerated. (They disagreed with Tryon's statement on two minor points - that neatness is not despised by sixth grade boys, and 'talkativeness' is tolerable to twelfth grade boys). A development of heterosexual interests over the period was noted, and ability to establish social relations with the opposite sex was considered a desirable characteristic by adolescents.

Bonney reports a study which related trait ratings to pupil's choice of friends on a questionnaire. She concludes that "a child is well accepted in a group much more because of what he is and what he does ..... than because of what he refrains from doing". Negative virtues count for little, it is /

is strong positive personality traits that are important. Moral instruction of a negativistic type, and docility to authority, may thus be a hindrance to a child's acceptance by the peer-group. The popularity of the child in a group is not a superficial matter, but depends upon fundamentals of personality.

Pellettieri studied a cross-section of an American community (represented by 449 boys of eleven to seventeen) using a schedule-technique. He found that friendships formed between boys of similar age, approximately the same height and weight, attending the same school and at about the same standard; socio-economic factors were not important.

It is apparent that whilst these studies do give some indication of the broader factors influencing the child's choice of friends, they do no justice to the more intimate dynamics of companionship. Questionnaire-type studies are too coarse a method, and closer study of individual cases is called for.

Chapter 12.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE PEER-CULTURE AND THE MAIN CULTURE.

It has been obvious at several points in the foregoing discussion that the main (adult dominated) culture of the society has a considerable influence upon the sub-culture. In the big American cities the conditions of the adult culture caused an exaggeration of the children's peer-culture so that it took on a heightened importance. Moreover the circumstances that led to reduced family unity and a high level of delinquency among the parents of these children induced a high incidence of delinquency in the peer-culture.

The activities of children - that is, the activities of the peer-culture, are modelled upon the adult activities, and this becomes particularly marked in the second or pre-pubertal stage. Moreover, at this stage in particular, boys and girls engage in different activities corresponding to the different roles of men and women in society. Although clearly influenced by the adult patterns, the peer-culture differs in permitting a wider range of roles: the boy can, for example, be a scalping Indian, but this role is not considered respectable in a bank-clerk. As a matter of fact, this point is a disadvantage of Western culture, as discussed elsewhere, for the boy might prefer to identify himself with an /

an Indian than a prosaic clerk, which hinders a boy's identification with his father. A girl can more readily identify herself with her mother's activities.

A feature of the peer-culture in primitive societies is the way in which its activities are closely related to roles that the child will one day occupy. In complex cultures the child acts many roles that he is unlikely to occupy, and many that he almost certainly will not take on in real life. The children's sub-culture in our society is therefore less closely related to the adult culture than it is in the primitive society. The child does, moreover, live in an environment which differs from the adult one, particularly when in school, and the peer-culture becomes a more artificial affair than it might be. Further, the child is not a part of the economic system as he usually is (to some extent at least) in more primitive communities, a fact which tends to increase the distance between the main culture and the sub-culture. These facts, coupled with the great complexity of civilised cultures, make the process of acculturation a much more difficult thing for our children.

Some writers claim that children should be left to work out their own culture unaided (or without interference) by /

by adults. Although there are limitations to adult participation in the children's peer-culture, it is clear from the material surveyed earlier that left to itself the peer-culture is unable to reach a formula which will integrate it with satisfactory elements of the main-culture. The tone of the peer-culture comes from the main culture, and it fails when denied the proper example of adults and particularly of parents: the Chicago children had school teachers and others who presumably endeavoured, on the whole, without success, to instil the better elements of the main culture. Thrasher does, however, quote examples where skilled workers did influence gangs towards acceptable attitudes. The profound influence of the family, and of identification with the parents, is the subject of another Chapter. Under modern conditions the stability and direction to the acculturation process given by identification with parents is more than ever needed. It appears it is more than ever lacking.

The peer culture, after all, is composed of immature and inexperienced individuals who have no sense of direction: there is no warrant for supposing that a child can entirely by "instinct" grow into an adapted and confirming individual in a complex society.

A /

A further illustration of the interaction between the adult and child in a cultural setting is supplied by the well-known experiment by Lewin, Lippitt and White. (This is one of the most carefully designed and executed experiments in child psychology). The object was to discover the effects of different "social climates" on club-groups. The club leaders (men) adopted three carefully designed policies of control - (a) the "autocratic" in which the leader controlled the group by peremptory orders with the minimum of explanation or discussion. He remained "outside" the group, imposing his directions without actually participating in the activity and demonstrating as little as possible; (b) the "democratic" in which the leader avoided direct commands, but offered suggestions which were discussed by the group: he advised on technical questions, explaining the reasons for doing the job a certain way. The boys were free to work as they pleased. The leader offered praise or criticism in a friendly but objective fashion, and he participated himself in the activities of the group; (c) the "laissez-faire" in which the leader participated as little as possible, did not offer advice unless asked, and made no effort to control the group.

There were four equated groups, each consisting

of /

of five ten-year-old boys. Each "run" consisted of six fifty-minute sessions, and the meetings were watched by four observers: complete shorthand records were taken of every meeting. To eliminate, so far as possible, the effects of personality, each leader acted in each of the three roles (with different groups) and each group of boys experienced all three types of leadership. The activities were making plaster-of-paris masks, painting murals, etc.

In the "autocratic" situation the groups were adult-dominated and the peer-culture was masked. Two patterns emerged, one in which the groups became aggressive and unco-operative, and another in which the groups were submissive. In the aggressive groups there was discontent with the club and its activities, and tension between the members. In the other groups the members worked well, though with a minimum of interaction, so long as the leader was present: the activity disintegrated as soon as he left the room. In this condition the output of work was greatest, but its quality mediocre. The boys evidently felt less personal involvement in the activity and did not get great satisfaction from it. In the autocratic situation there was a marked inhibition of normal free-and-easy sociability between the boys. Talking was not expressly forbidden, but there was a very marked decrease in the child-to-child conversation. /

conversation. There was an increase in "seeking-recognition" behaviour in this situation, both towards the leader and the other boys. The adult, rather than the other boys, was the source of social approval. It is significant that the only boy expressing a preference for the autocratic situation had an autocratic father.

The "laissez-faire" situation, on the other hand, was marked by apathy: the boys felt the need for some measure of direction, and lacking the technical skills for the activities involved, were denied those satisfactions that go with success. The meetings tended to degenerate into aimless horse-play. "Seeking-recognition" behaviour was directed almost entirely towards the group. Discontent in this group was not nearly so high as in the autocratic, but was substantially greater than in the "democratic" group.

It was the "democratic" situation that was most popular. Although the quantitative output was less than in the submissive autocratic group, the quality was better and the boys evidently gained greater satisfaction from the activity. They showed some pride in the finished products (taking them home, for example), whereas this was lacking in the autocratic groups, one of which destroyed its work at the end of the run. Work in this group continued in the absence of /

of the leader. Friendly and social interaction between the boys was highest in these groups, and from the educative point of view this situation was quite superior to the others.

It will be appreciated that in this experiment the presence of the adult made the culture a mixed one and not a peer-culture, but in the liassez-faire situation it was in effect a peer-culture with an adult on the fringes. It demonstrates my point that the peer-culture is not progressive. In the case of the "Righteous Club" cited earlier, the adult-culture (in the person of the leader's father) did not penetrate in a physical sense into the peer-culture, but it none the less had a very real influence on that club. The adult-culture can exert its influence without actually entering the peer-culture, but for it to be really effective the members of the sub-culture must have sustained and emotionally warm contacts with members of the main culture. To take a specific example, cowboys and Indians may be said to enter the peer-culture, and they are taken as models, but since the British peer-culture has no sustained contact with these exciting people in the flesh, they are very indefinite models and have no great influence. A boy in an early settler's family, whose father was really a cowboy, and /

and who had been shot at by a real Red Indian, would be profoundly influenced by these contacts.

The study of "social climates" shows clearly that the peer-culture left to itself cannot develop skills which go beyond the experience of its members: in this particular situation the skills concerned were mainly technical, but the Chicago studies mentioned earlier show the counterpart of the "laissez-faire" situation in regard to the learning of social skills. A democratic and co-operative liaison with more skilful individuals (whether these skills are mechanical or social) is essential. The child needs a model. Moreover, the learning of complex social skills requires a strong motivational element, supplied by emotional ties to the model. For the boy, this model is primarily the father, and for the girl the mother.

It should be stated that whilst the "democratic" liaison between the adult and child cultures outlined above is essential to the process of acculturation, there are also circumstances in which both the "autocratic" and the "laissez-faire" situations are appropriate.

It should also be noted that whilst an adult may act in close union with the peer-culture, he cannot become part of it. Sheer physical size, if nothing else, debars him from this (witness the manner in which even over-large children tend to be excluded). He is, moreover, (or should be), too different /

different in knowledge, experience, scale of values and outlook on life to be assimilated into the peer-culture, and especially when the adult is a parent, a measure of dependence also enters the relationship. Adult-to-child relations cannot be on a basis of psychological equality. (They may be ethically equal, but that is another matter. Some false ideas have arisen in certain educational systems where muddle-headed theorists have confused ethical and psychological questions). The child cannot therefore develop in interactions with adults the social skills of living with his equals, and it is these skills of equal-to-equal that are most important in life (not of course that others are unimportant). Whilst the patterns upon which these skills are moulded come from adults, their actual development and exercise, the gaining of experience in their use, can be acquired only in the peer-culture.

Adults will also, of course, modify and influence the peer-culture in various ways of a more or less mechanical nature. They may, for example, make situations that prevent boys and girls frommixing at all, or force them to mix more than they desire. They may provide playgrounds or open spaces that facilitate the children's spontaneous activity, or fail to provide them in a manner that cramps it. In an almost infinite /

infinitely variety of ways, and often without any design, the peer-culture may be modified, and it is also subject to modification by non-human factors such as the geographical features of a district, or even by the weather!

Chapter 13.

THE CHILD'S SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PEER-CULTURE.

As outlined in the previous section, the peer-culture (which is the free activity of children in general) can be a dynamic and progressive part of the process of acculturation only when supplied by adequate contacts with acculturated adults. The discussion of the nature of these contacts would make a wide digression, and for the present the statement will suffice that these contacts must involve identification with the adults and strong emotional ties between the adults and children. (Not that every child has such ties with every adult, rather a particular child has these ties with a particular representative of the main culture).

Denied these adequate contacts with the main-culture the peer-culture is unlikely to be progressive in its development, and (except by chance) is unlikely to develop in a direction consistent with the main culture. By being progressive is meant that the culture evolves the complexity of attitudes and roles, and the high degree of specialised information that distinguishes the civilised from the primitive community. To take an obvious example, left entirely alone the peer-culture would not be likely to acquire reading and writing and would lose the influence of those particular skills /

skills on the process of socialisation. Nor would it acquire the subtle values of the main culture. Being different, it would almost inevitably conflict with the main culture: its members would be non-conformers (i.e. neurotics or delinquents). In the following discussion this adequate contact with the main culture is assumed.

In earlier pages it has been stated that the child does not enter a distinctive peer-culture until about the third year. This does not mean that acculturation commences at that time, for the process starts earlier than that: the beginnings of language are acquired earlier, as well as the attitudes to the parents which have such important influences on socialisation. The very important beginnings made in the first three years, before the peer-culture becomes influential, are discussed in detail elsewhere. This early training must, however, be supplemented and modified by later experience in the children's sub-culture.

Cameron has elaborated the importance of role-taking behaviour in child development. He defines the role as "a comprehensive and coherent organisation in behaviour of functionally related, interlocking attitudes and responses. The role is a product of social learning, which has been culturally defined by the behaviour of others, and /

and is based either upon direct personal interaction in conventional language and thought. By role-taking we shall mean the living-out of such a social behaviour organisation, whether as play, as social imitation, or as one's real-life situation". (p. 90).

As Shakespeare points out, a man plays many parts. He has a few major roles, such as harbour-master, husband, father, The first gives to him a particular place in society, and involves certain duties and obligations. His office gives him certain jurisdiction over master-mariners, pilots and dock employees, but involves subordination to the Harbour Board. His social participations in these situations are of a particular kind. As a husband he plays another role, and as a father another role again, though none of these are entirely independent. He also takes on minor roles - say as a churchwarden and a member of the bowling club. He is involved in a succession of temporary roles, specific to a given transient situation - perhaps as defendant in court through riding his bicycle without a rear light.

Cameron has demonstrated the importance of skilful use of role-taking behaviour (and of the basic adjustive techniques) in social behaviour. This behaviour in adult life is extraordinarily complicated, although one of the complex things that is taken for granted, and a lengthy learning /

learning process has preceded the skill with which the normal person uses it.

Although the child's earliest roles are played within the family (for example, the baby of the family, the unwanted child, the overprotected child, or whatever it may be) and in this setting he acquires his first and fundamental lessons in socialisation, there are certain limitations to the family's part in the process of socialisation. For one thing the family is essentially adult-dominated, and as already indicated there are factors which hinder the child's learning equal-to-equal social behaviour in an adult-dominated setting. In the second place the child occupies within the family a position that he will not occupy in the adult world for which he is preparing. In the family the child holds a very special place: he is accepted for what he is, both his faults and his virtues are known and allowed for. He is among folk he knows pretty intimately and whose loyalty to him he can trust. He occupies a position of dependency within this setting. But later he has to enter a world of strangers, which may neither tolerate his faults nor recognise his virtues. It is a world that is not particularly interested in him in the way his parents were. Though it affords him certain rights and privileges if he confirms, it also demands certain /

certain obligations of him. The child must eventually leave the family to make his way in the different conditions of the world, to make (or fail to make) friends, a living, a place for himself, on his own merits. Neither parents nor siblings can supply conditions in which the child can learn to meet strangers, or to cope with a world that is largely indifferent or even hostile to him. He has, moreover, gradually to relinquish the ties in his family of birth to set up a family of his own, in due course.

Whilst language, and other means of communication, such as the cinema and radio, also play some part in the process of acculturation (and perhaps not always a desirable part) their influence is weak compared with that of interpersonal contacts. Language in particular is an auxiliary to these contacts.

The complex nature of the learning process is indicated by the fact that the being who now occupies the dependent and simple role of the babe-in-arms must become the independent citizen, knowledgeable of his duties in that role, socially adequate in the company of others, husband or wife, father or mother (the latter being perhaps the most difficult role of all). It is only the long period of childhood that permits the human species to achieve these complex social structures. Like the learning of all complex skills, social learning must be gradual, adapted to the capacity of the individual and involve plenty of practice.

It /

It is from the peer-culture that the child acquires his early experience with equals (whose capacities are matched to his own) and here he learns the difficult techniques of social relationships at his own level. The general patterns of social behaviour acquired in the peer-culture at the first stage are likely to last through life, and unsatisfactory modes of social adjustment commenced now are unlikely (except by the use of special techniques of psycho-therapy) to be modified later. It is in this first stage of acculturation that the child acquires the first lessons and exercises as the member of a community (as distinct from the family) and acquires the rudiments of his concept of himself as an independent person interacting with other persons who lack those special attitudes to him that are peculiar to the family. At first the child's social contacts are of a simple kind, and the child still spends much time in solitary play: he does not enter into true group activities, but plays in a pair (several pairs in a nursery situation may indulge simultaneously but separately in the same activity). Gradually his social skills develop and he is more able to understand the wishes of others and to join in <u>their</u> activities: he is also more able to dominate them and bring them into <u>his</u>. According to his nature, it may be that one of /

of these tendencies will be more marked, but (if fortunate) he learns the value of co-operation and the moderate but more skilled use of these potentialities. With increasing skill the range of his activities widens, and this development involves not only his social skills but linguistic, mechanical, motor, conceptual and others also, in a closely interwoven pattern. The groups he interacts with, the variety of his activities and experience, all expand.

We have seen that, on the whole, sex differences are not of very great significance in this first stage of acculturation. The child is in this stage learning the social skills of person-to-person without much regard to sex. The preparations for the next stage are, however, being made.

It is in the second stage of acculturation, when the sexes separate, that the child learns to be specifically a male or female person. The skills and facilities acquired in the first stage for action as a person, continue to develop in this stage, but with this elaboration of personality modified by sex. (Here again it is necessary to say that <u>sex</u> is used in its broadest connotation, without limitation to what may be called the genital aspects of sexuality which are not yet /

yet significant: nor are the specifically sexual emotions yet greatly involved, if at all).

We have seen that boys, in addition to friendships of two and three, have a tendency to form larger groupings. It is not possible at present to explain this tendency. It may be a purely cultural artifact, but because it appears a fairly universal feature in diverse cultures, both primitive and civilised, one is inclined to doubt this.

The limitations of the peer-culture have already been touched upon, and the gang shows these limitations. A gang is an in-group, and in common with such groups is liable to put self-interest before the public interest: in other words, although the gang offers opportunity for the exercise of social skills, it does so within a limited setting that may or may not be in harmony with the main-culture. (The factors making for harmony, chief among which are identification with the father (This point received detailed treatment in a later Chapter) have been outlined). Within these limitations, however, the gang is undoubtedly a power in the socialisation process.

The /

The girl within her feminine peer-culture is undergoing a parallel development. It has been seen that males and females have definite and distinct scales of interests, values and standards of acceptable conduct. It is the function of the peer-culture to perpetuate and confirm these standards, and to impose them upon its members. It rewards conformity by unity with one's fellows, and the satisfactions that attend acceptance by the group. It punishes deviants by rejecting them, and with the pains of ostracism. A further function of this stage is discussed more fully in the Chapter on the family. It is the commencement of the severance of those links with the family preparatory to marriage and the setting up of a new family-unit.

If this stage is satisfactorily passed through, the child, whose personality is now distinctively masculine or feminine, though immature, enters the third stage. In this stage are exercised the skills involved as a person approaching maturity and as a masculine or feminine person having hetero-sexual relationships. Although not of necessity fully sexual, these relationships do now have a decidedly sexual element. In this phase is acquired fuller independence, experience and confidence with one's distinctively masculine or feminine personality viz-a-viz complementary personalities of the opposite sex. This phase ends with a mature and stable man or woman.

The /

The learning of social skills is not a thing that can proceed in vacuo, nor indeed in entirely cold blood. It requires an emotional tinge. The peer-culture affords the opportunity for 'learning-by-doing'. Although intolerant of any persistent deviation, it is also somewhat permissive: the individual can be allowed a few mistakes.

A further function of the peer-culture is supplying those feelings of 'belongingness' that may be helpful to the child who lacks these in his family. In particular it may help the child over temporary domestic troubles. It is doubtful, however, whether the peer-culture can supply these warm attachments to a degree sufficient to satisfy a deep want.

The peer-culture too can probably carry a few passengers. For example, a boy who lacks proper identification with his father may be carried on to adequate masculinity by the sub-culture. These passengers will, however, tend to dilute and so weaken the pattern of the peer-culture, and if too numerous may have an adverse effect upon it and all its members.

The types of personality that will render a child unacceptable to his peer-culture have been outlined in the previous Chapter. In general, behaviour inappropriate to the sex is a bar. The "sissy" boy or the "tomboy" girl is likely to be rejected, and hence to be denied the corrective influence that the peer-culture might have been able to exert.

A /

A boy who is a "sissy" owing to maternal overprotection is liable to be caught in a circle of events that progressively worsens his condition, for his rejection by other boys may be a very painful experience that throws him back upon the mother, thereby strengthening the very situation that led to his first condition, which is worsened at each rebuff. Or he may find access to the boy peer-culture too difficult and fall into the girls' peer-culture instead, which has much the same effects of increasing his feminine peculiarities and increasing the distance between himself and the masculine peer-culture. Boarding school is frequently recommended as the cure for this situation, and sometimes it works, but as a teacher in such schools the author knows it can be a pretty bitter time for the child concerned, and it is rather like teaching a child to swim by throwing him into deep water: it may work, but it may drown him.

In the same way the treatment of other forms of maladjustment by flinging a child into the peer-culture is a risky measure. A timid child may be made more timid and miserable, and an aggressive child more intractable. One needs an accurate knowledge of the toughness of the individual before attempting such a cure. However, one often notices that /

that the latter type of child, who may be a holy terror at home, has sense enough never to try it on at school.

There are signs that these stages of acculturation are not isolated phases, but interlock intimately. Throughout the process social development in general proceeds steadily, and this aspect may be abstracted without reference to the sex aspects of the matter. This, in fact, is what many descriptions of child development do, and the importance of the development of the sex attitudes are largely overlooked, particularly when children-in-general are considered instead of male-children and female-children. In each stage, in addition to its main function, may be seen preparations for the stage which follows, and without these preparative developments the child may become fixated at the current stage, never entering the next. It is, for example, the identifications with the mother in the first stage, the three to eight period, that prepares the girl to enter the second stage of development. This is a fairly simple process for the girl, but the corresponding stage for the boy is more complicated. He has to loosen ties with the mother and identify himself with the father as an essential preliminary to entering the second stage. Similarly, the boy or girl who fails in the second stage to consolidate these identifications with the same sex parent and to acquire masculinity or femininity in the peer-culture, will not develop those heterosexual interests that are basic to the third stage.

In /

In the foregoing discussion three questions of relevance have not been discussed, and perhaps should be mentioned briefly. Little mention has been made of the question as to whether the observed features are purely culturally determined or whether they have a biological foundation. To some extent this question is unimportant to this discussion. We have been concerned to describe the culture as it is, and to examine the influences that it has, and whether "artificial" or biological, the factors described are very real to those involved in them. As discussed in earlier Chapters, Culture has a biological basis, and small but insistent innate factors undoubtedly influence the peer-culture.

In the second place, whilst considerable importance is attached to play in the peer-culture, no mention is made of the theories of play itself. I will state that, in spite of the difficulties of its teleological nature, I hold the theory of Groos, that play is a preparation for life: this is its designed function. Here again there is a biological basis, and it may be that the Schiller-Spencer theory is also correct. Children have a fund of surplus energy, so that they can play, so that they can learn to be adults.

The /

THE PEER-CULTURE IN AN INSTITUTION POPULATION.

In the Chapter on the psychological characteristics of the institution child we see that this population is typically unstimulated in psychological functioning.* With particular relevance to this question is the inadequate social behaviour, superficiality of inter-personal relationships and lowered emotional tone. It is obvious, therefore, that these conditions will not be conducive to the formation of a strong and effective peer-culture. It is a noticeable feature of such children that strong friendships are not commonly formed, and that in free play they tend to group much more loosely than other children. Loyalty to their fellows is reduced and public opinion is weak. In some ways the children seem more tolerant, but it is the tolerance of apathy rather than of enlightenment. The reduced initiative of these children is a further factor which hinders the co-operative enterprises that are a feature of gang-life. Under these conditions the peer-culture is not such a potent factor in the child's development.

Furthermore, the institution child has reduced facilities for identification with a parent figure. With the predominant tendency to female staffing, this is a factor which rests more heavily on the boy than on the girl. The boys in so many Homes are denied a father-figure who can guide those vital aspects of development outlined in the foregoing pages. They /

* See Chapter 16 for the evidence supporting this statement.

They also lack a strong peer-group to carry them through as their fellows are all similarly deprived.

Many Homes, as is official policy to-day, permit contact with outside children, and it is possible that the boy may be carried as a passenger by this outside peer-culture. It has already been suggested that development within the peer-culture without the backing of a father-figure is at best a hazardous business. In point of fact, moreover, orphanage children do not mix as much as be desired with outside children, even when perfectly free to do so. (The reasons for this require closer analysis).

The effects of these deficiencies upon the boys' development, and upon the adult who emerges from this milieau, will be apparent from the earlier discussion.

Chapter 14.

MATURATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.

It has been indicated in earlier Chapters that biological factors as well as cultural ones play a part in the total development of the child. Certain aspects of the cultural factors have been discussed, and others will be treated in later Chapters. Here it is proposed to give some attention to the physiological aspects of psychological development, which is a highly specialised subject. There is a vast literature on the physical development of both animals and humans, but relatively little work correlating physical and mental development. One is therefore forced, as it were, to wander in a large and unfamiliar field attempting to make what sense he can of the immense amount of factual data that is available, and linking it up as best he may with his knowledge on more familiar topics of psychological development. The volume of factual material is indeed a frightening aspect of the physiological literature, and it is no easy task to abstract from this vast mass the essential generalisations that will enable one to gain a meaningful picture of its relevance to psychological topics. It is hoped that the generalisations used here will not be too distorting to physiological /

physiological facts, nor produce a picture so oversimplified as to be meaningless.

It is perhaps a philosophical question whether one can speak of psychological development in the foetus and embryo, but any such development that can be conceded must be almost exclusively innate. The environment as yet can scarcely impinge upon the growing organism. Nor could it be claimed that the neonate has been forced out of nature into nurture, that from the time of birth the work of innate factors is finished and that the environment takes over from that point. To take but one example, myelinisation of the nervous system (and especially of those grey cells that are concerned in intellective behaviour) is not yet complete, and will not be for many months. Indeed, the fact that intelligence continues to develop up to about the fifteenth year suggests that corresponding changes are taking place in the C.N.S., but detailed studies of the development of the human brain up to that age are not available. de Crinis has shown that the area of muscle sense is among the first to develop. The motor areas, in his study, had not developed dendritic processes at five days, but they were discernible at ten weeks and well developed at eleven months. Those areas associated with more purely intellective functions did not reach a corresponding stage of development until the fourth year. Tilney has demonstrated changes in the behaviour of the rat parallel with maturation of the /

the brain right up to maturity. Other changes are occurring in the body which have a less direct or obvious relation to psychological development, and may be quite irrelevant, the ossification of certain cartilaginous structures, for example. Another change which is certainly relevant continues slowly during childhood and does not produce its most profound effects for a dozen or more years, the changes in the endocrine system at puberty, and this development has very marked psychological correlates. It is difficult to escape the view that certain aspects of psychological development at least must be correlated very closely with purely physiological events of this kind, but it is difficult or even impossible to separate the innate factors from environmental ones, and the maturation-learning problem is but a facet of the nature-nurture controversy. Certain evidence exists, however, that throws some light on this problem.

The principle of critical periods in maturation is strikingly illustrated in the embryology of vertebrates. Transplantation of tissues in the earliest stages may result in tissue that would, if left in location, have developed in some specialised direction, developing quite differently. For example, tissue from the medullary plate will normally develop into the nerve tissue of the brain and spinal cord, but if taken and transplanted on to the ectoderm, it can develop into skin /

skin tissue. Spemann has shown, however, that this holds only up to a certain stage, and that there is a critical period when the presumptive neural plate becomes determined and will continue to develop into nerve tissue wherever it is transplanted. There is a highly significant time factor involved in maturation. Similarly Gilchrist has shown that if amphibian embryos are warmed during the blastula stage the neural fold develops larger, but it is unresponsive in the gastrula stage to such environmental influence. The whole question of embryological development is a most fascinating subject, but a detailed discussion would not be helpful to the present study which is more particularly concerned with psychological maturation, except in showing the general principles that might be involved.

Spalding experimented with segregated newly hatched chicks in studying their pecking behaviour. He noticed that chicks that had been segregated for only a day or two after hatching would respond to the call of the hen on release by running to her. If, however, the segregation continued for nine or ten days this behaviour would not be elicited; the period of "ripeness" seemed over. He later performed a similar experiment on the flight of young swallows, and found that /

that the longer young birds were restrained the greater the difficulty they had in learning to fly. Dennis (1941) repeated the experiment with young buzzards, caging two at the time they were beginning to feather and would normally be starting to learn flight. After ten weeks birds of the same age were soaring proficiently, but these birds ran along the ground, from which they could raise themselves only a foot or so: they had poor balance and when placed on a perch fell rather than flew to the ground. Observations over several more weeks showed that they had impaired flight ability. Yerkes and Bloomfield studied the mouse-killing behaviour of kittens, and noticed that there was a sudden marked change in the proficiency of this behaviour which suggested a maturational rather than a learning development, and this is corroborated by the observation that the older the animal was when first given the opportunity, the harder it became to evoke the behaviour, again as if a period of particular readiness was over.

Scott and Marston have studied the question of critical periods in the development of dogs, and they produce evidence that suggests that there are several natural periods in the social development of puppies during which the animals are much more responsive and show much more lasting effects from experience. They suggest that the effects of "traumatic experiences" /

experiences" might also be greatest in these periods, and present some observations supporting this. The behaviour discussed in these studies undoubtedly involved a greater or lesser element of learning, but the interesting thing is that they suggest that there is, for the learning of some sorts of behaviour at least, an optimum period during which learning is most effective, and the timing of this optimum period is presumably related to some maturating physical process. Learning is difficult or impossible before this "critical period", and may be less effective after it has passed. In human studies it is fairly plain that the learning of a good many behaviours is impossible until the right stage of maturity is reached, but there is yet little evidence on the question of a period after which learning is difficult, excepting the changes in later adulthood. In relation to such matters as motor co-ordination and language, this fact is obvious enough, and it is illustrated in several co-twin studies (e.g. Gesell and Thompson, McGraw, etc.) that instruction before maturational readiness is of little or no effect.

A further question that would need extensive discussion in a more detailed examination of maturation is whether the maturation of behaviour proceeds by individuation of mass activities (as proposed by Coghill and his followers) or /

or by the synthesis of simple patterns into complex ones. So far as the levels of social behaviours which are the subject of this thesis are concerned, it would appear likely that both are operative, the child first differentiating "mass" behaviour into more specific situational behaviours, and then re-combining these, as skill increases, into refined behaviours fitted to the exact circumstances of the moment. In our present state of ignorance it is impossible to say much on this point, however.

Before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of studies of maturation it is perhaps as well to refer to some of the evidence that shows that certain behaviours at least are dependent upon maturation alone, whilst others involve maturation plus learning. Carmichael (1926, 1927, 1928) experimented with frogs and salamanders by anaesthetising the embryos in a solution of chloretone so that they developed without the usual movements. Apart from the time taken, they developed indistinguishably from the controls reared in fresh water. When developed to the stage when the controls were swimming, they were placed in fresh water, and within a few minutes were swimming normally. A group re-anaesthetised after twenty-four hours swimming practice took just the same time to recommence swimming in fresh water, showing that this period /

period was due to the time taken to recover from the anaesthetic. It appears, therefore, that swimming in these animals is the result of maturation entirely, and not of learning. Matthews and Detwiler performed a similar experiment with Amblystoma, and they found similar results. They found, furthermore, that if the creatures were kept too long in the anaesthetic, they never achieved the proper swimming movements: apparently a critical period of maturation had beenpassed. Metfessel kept newly hatched canaries in sound-proof cages so that they could not hear the sounds of other birds. Some were reared in silence, others had selected musical tones played to them. When placed in flight cages with other birds, they developed only rudimentary species song, showing that a maturational period was involved, but the birds exposed to the tones incorporated these into their songs, showing that learning was also involved. The latter study is important in showing that any idea of maturation alone is likely (especially in complex activities at the human level) to be a barren over-simplification, and that so far as psychological matters are concerned, the influence of learning on maturation must be considered.

A further point about the maturational aspects of development is that they appear to have regular and fairly rigid /

rigid stages. Human walking, for example, goes through various stages from sitting up, supported standing, "cruising", etc., as described by Gesell and others. It is obvious that in this matter physiological development fixes the order of the stages. The "cephalocaudal" progression of development that is so markedin the embryo continues in the early months of life, and the musculature of the upper-body is further developed than that of the legs. It is inevitable, therefore, that the baby should first be able to hold the head erect, then sit erect, before the leg muscles are well enough developed to support the weight of the body. These phases are pre-ordained by the nature of the child's growth. Standing erect involves balance, so is dependent upon the development of the areas of the brain connected with the semi-circular canals, and their co-ordination with the motor areas. As seen earlier, these do not develop for some months, and an erect stance cannot preced this development. Certainly learning plays an important part in the development of walking, but no amount of learning can be effective before the correct stage of physical readiness is reached.

The underlying physical development of such matters therefore has an orderly and rather inflexible sequence of events. These events appear able to press forward against 'opposition' /

'opposition' from the environment. Moderate malnutrition, for example, appears to have little direct effect on this sequence of events, although stamina and other relevant indirect influences may be hindered. Sexual maturity is achieved in spite of adverse circumstances of this sort, unless severe. The range of variability of the physiological aspects of development is rather small, at least in comparison with the very wide range found in the psychological characteristics.

A number of studies illustrate the fact that training in a given activity which is dependent upon maturational factors is ineffective, or of reduced effectiveness, before the correct stage of maturational readiness is reached. Hilgard (1932) trained a group of young children in buttoning, cutting with scissors, and ladder-climbing. After twelve weeks of practice this group was clearly superior in all these activities to an untrained control group, but the latter group then took only one week of training to achieve equal performances, and this was attributed to the greater maturational readiness of this later-trained group. Gesell and Thompson (1929) performed the well-known co-twin study: at forty-six months both were on the threshold of stair-climbing and block-building behaviour, and twin T was then trained for ten minutes daily for six weeks in these activities. At the end of this period twin /

twin C was given a two-weeks similar training. Of the two, T was the more agile by nature, yet C actually climbed the four steps used in the experiment on the first trial, and after only two weeks' practice she was as proficient in both activities as her sister. The authors claim that, "There is no conclusive evidence that practice and exercise even hasten the actual appearance of types of reactions like climbing and tower building. The time of appearance is fundamentally determined by the ripeness of the neural structures"."

It will be noted that this particular study was concerned with the development of a spontaneously emerging maturation, which was incipient at the commencement of the experiment: the training given had nothing to do with causing the emergence of the behaviour, and the study illustrates only the effects of training at different stages of maturation.

McGraw (1935) wished to determine the age at which practice would begin to show improvements in motor performances. She used the twins Jimmy and Johnny (thought at the time to be identical, but some doubt has been cast on this matter). Johnny was exercised in such motor activities as he was capable of from the age of three weeks to twenty-two months. Jimmy was kept in his crib during these periods, so that he had relatively less exercise. The activities of the two were compared /

compared with each other, and with a group of sixty-eight other children. The behaviour studies was divided into phylogenetic activities (the normal biological functions) and ontogenetic activities (which are 'optional' acquisitions, as distinct from the essential biological functions). McGraw found the phylogenetic activities to be more fixed and less modifiable than the ontogenetic ones. The factors she found to be important in determining the influence of exercise in modifying an activity in infancy are as follows:

i. The neuro-structural level at which the activity is controlled.

ii. The state of plasticity or fixity of the behaviour course at the time increased exercise or use is introduced.

iii. the state of fixity attained by the behaviour pattern at the time the factor of special exercise is withdrawn.

iv. The phylogenetic origin and importance of the behaviour pattern.

The behaviour patterns that are controlled at an infracortical level and have acquired a high degree of fixity are subject to no appreciable alteration through mere repetition, nor by increased exercise. The activities related to these phylogenetic behaviours /

behaviours which are controlled at a higher cortical level are more subject to modification. Ontogenetic behaviours can be accelerated in development provided they have reached an appropriate degree of maturation or plasticity at the time exercise is introduced. McGraw emphasises that there are critical periods when any given activity is most susceptible to modification through repetition or exercise.

In a later study (McGraw, 1940) she used the co-twin technique to investigate the effect of training on the achievement of voluntary micturition. Two pairs of boys (identical twins) were used, and one of each pair from the age of a few weeks was placed on the pot at hourly intervals for seven hours each day until the age of seventeen and twenty-six months respectively. Their brothers did not use the pot until fourteen and twenty-four months. The experimental group showed no benefit from their long period of training, the untrained boys showing equal facility. The graphs of the performance of the boys under training showed two subsidiary peaks. One was more or less an artifact, due to the extreme sensitivity of the micturation reflex in the earler months of life, when the mere handling to place on the pot was sufficient to set off the reflex. As this sensitivity declined this /

this apparent 'success' also declined. Later the onset of some cortical participation in the act (reflected in the child's obvious awareness of the act) gave another peak to the number of successes, which declined again as more complex cortical influences entered. Following this was a much higher peak and a sustained plateau as the activity became stabilised.

A number of studies illustrate similar maturational factors in the development of motor skills, but it is the acquisition of more purely psychological aspects of the child's development that are of interest to the present thesis. It would, of course, be false to insist on any rigid distinction between the two. To take one example, walking could be regarded as a motor skill, and studied as such, but it also enables the child to become less dependent upon adults: it enlarges his environment and increases his potentiality for social contacts, and in all these directions this particular motor skill has considerable psychological effects. Whilst certain aspects of psychological development may be determined to some extent by gross features of physical growth, others are not so determined, but only by the growth of the C.N.S. itself. Gates studied the memorising ability of children aged four to six, who practised the memorisation of numbers. They showed an initial small advantage over the control group, but this latter group made the usual rapid 'catch-up' on later practice, suggesting that a maturational factor is involved in memory. Pistor studied the /

the development of time concepts, and found the same relationship between a group trained in chronology and history and a control, implying that factors of maturation are involved in this rather complex concept. Benezet showed that children whose formal instruction in arithmetic was postponed until the sixth grade rapidly gained the same competence as children taught more laboriously in earlier grades. Jersild (1947) discusses the place of maturation in the acquisition of fears: young children may lack the capacity for perception and so not 'notice' a given situation as dangerous, a rather older child may perceive uncertainly and be afraid (of a stranger, for example) whilst a still older child may understand the situation perfectly and so lose the fear. Strayer made a study of language development, using the co-twin technique, and found a maturational factor involved in the learning of words, naming objects, etc.

These studies are suggestive rather than conclusive, and the whole subject requires very much fuller investigation, but they do seem to indicate that maturational factors similar to those noted in physical development are found in more psychological aspects of development, and that the same principles are involved. Indeed, it is probable that the psychological developments showing these characteristics are related more or less directly to physiological developments, and to speak of psychological as distinct from physiological maturation may be rather meaningless.

A /

A little more detailed discussion of the influence of endocrine secretions, notably those of the hypopituitary and the gonads, will be made in another Chapter. For the present purposes it will be sufficient to mention that the endocrine secretions do undergo certain changes, and that they have a very marked influence not only on physical growth but on personality factors as well. The periods of rapid growth in infancy and adolescence, and the period of slow growth between, are controlled at least to a degree, by these secretions, and in the development of personality marked changes are noted, especially at the period of increased gonadal activity at puberty. In the Harvard study of physique and personality (Sanford et al, 1943), marked changes in masculine outlook were noted in boys coincident with increases in the androgen output.

This rather brief outline will serve to show that certain psychological developments at least are influenced by underlying physiological processes of maturation, and that the following principles appear to be important:

i. the psychological development cannot precede the appropriate stage of physiological readiness.

ii. there are periods in the maturational process in which the organism is especially susceptible to influence.

iii. if the influence is not effective during this 'critical period' the organism may be less receptive or unreceptive to the influence at a later time.

In the present state of our knowledge little more can

be /

* In a recent article Bowlby discusses this question, and mentions some additional evidence. Work on animals (mostly birds and fishes) suggests that complex social behaviour is built up of a limited number of innate releaser-mechanisms (IRM), responses activated by sign-stimuli which are simple gestalts. These responses are often connected in series in which the response to the first brings the animal into a situation where it is highly probable that it will meet the sign-stimulus for the next, and so on.

Bowlby suggests that IRM's may underly social responses in man, though by the learning processes of which he is capable the sign-stimuli are greatly extended and complicated. So far there is little information about the maturation of IRM's, or their critical periods, and apart from the smiling response and one or two others, they have been little studied in man.

(See Bowlby, J. in Tanner (Editor) Prospects in Psychiatric Research, Oxford 1952).

be said on this subject than has been covered in this Chapter. A great deal more needs to be known about what kinds of psychological developments are influenced by the factors mentioned, the timing of these critical periods, and the exact nature of the physiological undercurrent. We need to know which developments have only one critical point, that is, a point before which development is difficult but after which it remains open, and those which have a restricted period of susceptibility and two critical points marking the beginning and the end of the critical period.

Whilst there is a little information available on the question of critical periods in the motor development of children, and in other matters that could be subsumed under the heading of 'educational development', there is practically none in the field of social development.* In point of fact, this is probably so much dependent upon the simpler forms of development that progress in the knowledge of this matter will have to wait upon further studies in the former. The work of Piaget will undoubtedly prove especially relevant, and a more detailed study of the question would need to include an analysis of his findings. There are two studies which present some tentative leads in the matter.

Scott /

Scott and Marston have proposed the following critical periods in the development of the child's social life; based mainly on Gesell's studies; but suggested by their own work on animals:

a. The neonatal period (up to four weeks), there being much evidence that conditioning is very difficult in this phase.

b. The transition period, when walking is being acquired.

c. The period of socialisation, beginning at about fifteen months but having no definite end-point, somewhere in the third year.

d. The juvenile period, about three to twelve years when there is a gradual throwing-off of parental authority and a joining up with the gang.

The neonatal period should perhaps not be included as a critical period, for it is rather the reverse, a period during which the child is particularly insensitive to experiences. The period of socialisation is mediated largely by the acquisition of language, which so much enlarges the child's possibilities of social intercourse: the acquiring of locomotion is also important in this regard. Parental support is probably very important at this time.

Scott and Marston suggest that school entry, which is badly placed, forms an artificial critical period at five to six years.

Stendler /

Stendler has suggested two critical periods in the child's development which are important in the forming of over-dependent attitudes. She points out that the child is not born with dependency needs, but acquires them, building up an association with the mother as the giver of love as well as the provider of physical wants. This building up of dependence is a necessary step to independence, "he learns to be independent because he has learned to be dependent upon his mother for acceptance and approval. It is only when he is sufficiently dependent to be pleased at parental approbation that he can make rapid strides in independence".

Independence is culturally defined, and the child must learn to be dependent and independent in culturally approved ways. The "negativistic period" is one in which dependent behaviour is waning and independent behaviour forming, but there is conflict because the child's ideas of independence differ from the adult's. Not all children arrive at a satisfactory dependent/independent ratio: in some cases, Stendler suggests, overdependence does not arise in the way described by Levy (see page 428) as a result of maternal pressures upon the child, but in rather the reverse fashion, the child demanding dependence upon an unwilling parent. The critical periods for the acquisition of over-dependence are when shifts occur in the child's awareness of himself in relation to socialising agents. He builds up expectations as to how needs are to be met, but these change with development. At these periods of change there may be anxiety and earlier methods /

methods of anxiety resolution are brought into play.

The first critical period in over-dependency comes at about twelve months, when the child becomes aware of his 'separateness' as an individual. (Some writers put this earlier, e.g. Bowlby at about eight months). At this time the child is liable to 'test out' the mother to assure himself that he can depend upon her. A trauma at this period (for example, hospitilisation) may be especially harmful.

The second suggested is at two to three years, which is a time of rapid social growth and the acquisition of independence from the mother. Difficulties in this period may cause a fixation of development.

The effects of traumata in the two periods are different; in the first period difficulties affect the ego-aspects of identification, and produces a low level of aspiration, low frustration tolerance, and similar results. In the second period the cultural or socialising aspects of identification are affected, and the result is a rigid, overconforming personality, preferring well-defined structured situations to free choice ones.

Critical periods will plainly be individualistic, and a study of them will involve careful longitudinal observations extending over long periods, so that progress in this field of knowledge is certain to be slow.

A further matter needs to be mentioned. The basic maturational /

maturational processes may bring the organism to a state of readiness for a given stage of psychological development, but this development may not occur unless corresponding stimuli or experiences are provided by the environment. For example, a child might reach the stage at which the memory is far enough developed for sounds to be memorised, the auditory mechanisms sufficiently developed for the analysis of complex sound waves, the muscles of the buccal cavity and throat exercised in the articulation of complex sounds, but it will still not learn speech if language is absent from the environment. We need to know more about which aspects of psychological development are dependent upon such environmental factors. It is likely that at the human level little development can occur without such intervention, that is, without learning being involved.

Whilst a detailed statement is not possible at the present, it would appear reasonable to say that physiological maturation provides an essential but modifiable basis for cultural or learning factors to work on. It is stating the obvious to say that there can be no behaviour without a body to behave, no learning without a nervous system that is somehow modifiable by experiences: the idea of maturation adds to this self-evident fact the rather less apparent idea that the soma is modifiable in different ways at different stages of its development. It is furthermore evident that the soma does not /

not merely take "impressions" of experiences, but it modifies them too: it is not a passive receptor. Indeed, the maturational and biological substratum is able not only to receive and modify experiences, but to influence and initiate active, ongoing behaviour, and even to turn this back upon the environment to modify it. Perhaps the relation between the forces of the environment and those of biological origin can be illustrated by a nautical analogy. A sailing ship is subject to two forces, the wind and the current. In a good breeze she is able to sail across or against this current, and whilst her course is the resultant of the two forces, the wind is the more powerful. The wind may be likened to the forces of the environment, the process of acculturation, whilst the current represents the internal biological forces. In the case of human development, the environmental forces appear, normally, to be the more powerful. But as every navigator knows, the current cannot be ignored because it is less apparent. As the wind drops away the current becomes more and more influential on the ship's course, until when she is becalmed, she drifts in the direction of the current alone. The more powerful is the current, the stronger must the wind be to enable the ship to overcome it. In the same way the individual's development is the resultant of the two forces, and their relative strengths vary in different circumstances. This idea will be taken up again and discussed with specific references in a later section.

Chapter 15.

DEPRIVATION IN THE PRE-SCHOOL YEARS.

Towards the end of the last century, probably under the influence of Stanley Hall, adolescence was regarded as the critical period in psychological development, and the years of childhood were somewhat neglected. The writings of Freud drew attention to the importance of earlier years, and during this century interest has been focussed on the question of infantile and early childhood experiences in the formation of personality. The first information on this subject came mainly from psycho-analytic studies of adults, but since these studies were subjective and retrospective they were not satisfactory scientifically. Though the writer has not attempted a historical survey of this question, it seems that only in fairly recent years has the matter come under scientific inspection. Bowlby has made an excellent review of the literature on the subject of deprivation in the pre-school years up to 1950. He analyses the evidence under three headings (a) studies which examine by direct observation the mental and physical development of deprived children; (b) retrospective studies of the early histories of older children who have developed psychological illnesses; (c) follow-up studies which examined the present condition of children known to have suffered deprivation in early years.

The /

The evidence of all the better studies is unanimous. Deprivation in early years may result in a greater or lesser degree of mental ill-health at the time of deprivation, and there is good reason to suppose that these effects may be permanent. (The nature of this mental ill-health will be discussed in another section). Only a few studies contradict these general findings, and these are unsatisfactory methodologically (e.g. Brown; Orgel).

Although this general finding appears acceptably proven, certain questions remain unclear. It is uncertain why some children <u>appear</u> not to suffer these effects (though as Bowlby points out, they may in fact suffer in a manner which is not obvious to the observer). Another question that is yet not satisfactorily cleared up is the effect of the time of deprivation.

On the first question, we have as yet no evidence upon which to base a discussion, as no study has yet been undertaken of the number of children exposed to the type of experience under consideration who have not succumbed, nor of the factors that might have protected them from such harm. We have only the observations of workers that some children at least <u>appear</u> not to suffer. It is common observation that (for reasons as yet unknown, but probably temperamental) even in /

in infancy some children appear to need less attention and to tolerate frustration better than others. It is certain that children of superior intelligence are not immune from the effects of deprivation, but whether they are affected differently from average or subnormal children is not known. One is left, in these cases, with the question as to how much better these "unaffected" children might have been if left undeprived: if a potential genius is reduced to average then the effects are as great, if not as noticeable, as when a potentially average child is reduced to a dullard.

On the second question as to the time of deprivation, evidence is somewhat more extensive, though by no means unequivocal. Ripin made a comparative study of ten healthy babies of normal parents, who were in an institution, with ten similar babies living in homes of low economic status. The institution babies were reared in an environment far superior from the hygienic point of view to the controls. In the first half of the year (the first test was made in the four to six months range) no difference between the groups was noted, but in the seventh month superiority in the control group was noted, and this difference increased steadily till at twelve months this group was markedly superior to the institution group. On the Bühler-Gesell Scales these babies were rated superior in postural, language, mental, social, manipulative and relational /

relational behaviour (postural behaviour showing least difference with increasing superiority through to relational behaviour). Dennis reared twin girls for the first seven months of life under conditions of minimal stimulation. They were kept in cots isolated from one another and were bottle-fed and toileted with the least possible handling. They were not visited between times. Nevertheless at the seventh month Dennis notes that they smiled and coo-ed at his approach and showed none of the psychological retardation that Ribble and others have described. The Iowa study of the intellectual growth of children in foster homes also throws some light on the subject (Skodak; Skodak and Skeels). Some 150 children were included, the bulk of them the issue of parents of inferior socio-economic status (many had feeble-minded mothers). Though specific details are not given, these children all had a period of institution treatment during the first six months, but all were placed in adoptive homes before six months of age. In spite of this, on a follow-up covering several years these children as a group showed a mental development markedly better than would have been predicted from their true parentage, and it is reasonable to suppose that they were not adversely affected by the changes in the first half year.

These studies suggest that deprivation in the first half year may not be serious. There is, however, other evidence that even in this period the effects of deprivation may be severe. Bakwin states that infants under four weeks old do not show any observable effects of separation from the mother, but after that early age marked physical and psychological deterioration are discernible within a few days of separation. Goldfarb (1947) presents evidence that babies admitted to an institution in the first six months show poorer adjustment in late foster-homes than those admitted in the second half year. Gesell and Amatruda compared the development of institution infants with the norm, and noted subnormality at eight weeks, which increased with time. Spitz and Wolf studied the smiling response of institution infants and noted a failure of the normal response. Brodbeck and Irwin noted less babbling and vocal behaviour in institution infants than is normal. Spitz, with reference to the second half year, noted severe reactions by infants between six and twelve months to separation from the mother, and has called the very marked syndrome 'anaclitic depression'. The author has come across no such extreme cases in his own experience, and suspects an element of exaggeration in Spitz's descriptions. Babies who have enjoyed mother-relationship during /

during the earlier months respond to hospitalisation with marked physical and psychological regression. Studies by Ribble; Freud and Burlingham; Bender; Lowrey and others all report similar effects of deprivation in the first year, but without differentiating the half year.

A number of studies have been made of older children who have been deprived, and a similar picture is presented. Gindl, Hetzer and Sturn worked with a group of twenty children of fifteen to twenty-three months who had been at least six months in an orphanage, and compared them with a similar group brought up in poor homes. Using the Hetzer-Bühler Scale they report an average difference of ten points in the D.Q. Scores in favour of the home group. Simonsen also used the Hetzer-Bühler Scale in Denmark, and he compared an an orphanage group aged one to four years with a control group attending day nurseries from their own homes. (These homes are reported as unsatisfactory in some cases). A consistent difference again in favour of the home group was noted. In this case the orphanage group consisted of 113 children, most of whom had been institutionalised all their lives.

Roudinesco and Appell made a study in Paris, using the Gesell Scale. They also worked with a one to four year old group, comparing 40 orphanage children with 104 children of similar social background in nursery schools. The

orphanage children had at least two months' deprivation, and they found these children to have an average D.Q. of 59 as compared with 95 for the control group. They also noted a tendency for the drop in D.Q. to be proportional to the length of the period of deprivation.

Goldfarb compared the development at approximately three years of two groups, both of which had some institution experience in the first four months of life, but whereas one group continued in the institution after this age the other group went to foster-homes. Although if anything the institution group had the advantage of rather better inheritance, they showed a difference of 28 points of Stanford-Binet I.Q. less than the foster home group. A smaller difference (91 to 79) was noted on the Merrill-Palmer Test.

Bender (1950) has described children who lacked continuous affectionate care up to the age of nine months as showing diffusely impulsive and unpatterned behaviour. The behaviour is unorganised, and she remarks that it is difficult to find any educational or therapeutic technique whereby this behaviour can be improved. In later life the behaviour remains impulsive and unpatterned. Motivation, discipline /

discipline, punishment, or insight therapy are all ineffective in producing a better organised personality. Attention seeking behaviour is common, but there is no warmth in interpersonal relationships, and no strength in them which would enable them to withstand separation or demands: these superficial relationships are quickly shifted to any newly available object.

Fortunately there is reason to suppose that this rather pessimistic view of the possibilities of therapy are not entirely justified, although therapy is certainly very difficult with these children.

Such information as is available at present leaves us with no clear indication as to whether deprivation is more or less serious in the first half-year as compared with the second. It seems that deprivation at any time in the pre-school years may produce unfortunate results, but no study has yet been undertaken to ascertain whether fewer children succumb as age increases, or whether the effects of deprivation become less severe.

The question of deprivation in infancy has received very extensive treatment in the literature in recent years, and the survey here is not intended as an exhaustive one. Readers who wish to pursue this question more deeply are referred /

referred to Bowlby's volume. Although it is not clear that every child deprived of parental care in the early months of life suffers the unhappy results outlined here, it is plain that deprivation at this time may result in a greater or lesser degree of psychological trauma. Even if we are not sure that such harm is inevitable, the risk appears to be considerable, and one to be avoided.

The question arises as to whether deprivation in the early months of life is the same in its results as deprivation in later childhood. In terms of the concepts discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the child deprived in the earliest months has not progressed far in the process of acculturation, and the induced needs which arise in this process will not have become strong. In this case there will be no strong on-going processes to be frustrated (see Chapter 8) which would lead to personality disturbances: the child would remain at a primitive and relatively unacculturated level of development, but would not be a frustrated individual in the terms used in the earlier Chapter. (This distinction is important from the point of view of prognosis and of treatment). The child deprived in later life, however, will have made a start on the process of /

of acculturation, and will have induced-needs which are cut short by the deprivation. Such a child would therefore be frustrated, with the possibility that this frustration would lead to the kind of disturbances discussed in Chapter 8. The matter is complicated by the fact that the healthy personality is more resistent to frustration than the less well-balanced one, so the nature of the child's earlier experiences and the stage of maturity at which he has arrived will be additional factors which may offset the results. The child might be able to tolerate the frustration. The data so far available is not very enlightening in this none too simple situation.

Lowrey has claimed that only children admitted to an institution before the age of two develop personality disorders, but his contentions are based on only three cases of children of twenty-eight, twenty-nine and thirty-four months which he compares with a group of 28 children under two, and his study cannot be regarded as conclusive.

Bowlby (1946) has shown that separation from the mother for long periods in the first five years may be a causative factor in producing the "affectionless personality".

Edelston's study of evacuated children shows that children /

children separated from their parents at any age up to at least eight years may suffer, and K.M. Wolf, surveying the literature on the evacuation of children, found that the various studies gave no indication of a maximum age for the development of problems on separation from parents. A great difficulty with any such studies is that the previous experiences of the children are not known.

The material reviewed here does suggest that the importance of later years of development has been rather underestimated because attention that has been given by so many psychologists to the early years. This is not to minimise the importance of the earliest years, but there has been a tendency to regard the child as 'formed' by the age of five or thereabouts, and indeed some schools of thought have actually made such a statement. This has distracted attention from the developments of the later years, but the available evidence does indicate that deprivation may bring unhappy results at any age, and that we must not neglect the study of the later developmental needs of the child.

Chapter 16.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INSTITUTIONALISED CHILD.

The child who has been for any length of time subjected to the environment of an institution presents a fairly well defined pattern of personality which may be termed the 'institution-syndrome'. Other classes of deprived children (the foster-child, the unwanted child at home, the neglected child, etc.) may show similar personalities, though usually to a different degree according to the nature and extent of their deprivation-experience. There are, of course, wide individual differences, and whilst the features to be described are typical they are not universal. It may be, however, that the range of variability is somewhat less than in the normal population.

Some mention has been made already of the personality structure of the deprived infant in which objective measure of the personality deficiency is supplied by the lowered D.Q. Bakwin describes the syndrome in these words: "Infants under six months who have been in an institution for some time present a well-defined picture. The outstanding features are listlessness, emaciation and pallor, relative immobility, quietness, unresponsiveness to stimuli like a smile or a coo, indifferent appetite, failure to gain weight properly despite the ingestion of diets which in the home are entirely /

entirely adequate, frequent stools, poor sleep, an appearance of unhappiness, proneness to febrile episodes, absence of sucking habits". Ribble presents a similar (but rather exaggerated) account. Gesell and Amatruda make corresponding observations on infants of this age, and for infants in the second half year note impoverished initiative, ineptness in new social situations, resistance to new situations, and early in the second year, language retardation.

Williams and McFarland compared the language development of young schoolchildren, institution and non-institution groups matched for M.A. and I.Q. They conclude ".... the orphanage children have vocabularies which are inferior not only to those of children of the same C.A. or M.A. but higher I.Q., but also to those of children matched for I.Q. as well".

Little and Williams; Skeels, Updegraff, Wellman andWilliams; and Flemming, have all made studies of the language development of institution children which show similar retardation. Little and Williams matched for mental age in a control group and found the institution group still inferior to a group with similar mental level living in the normal population, and they related these findings to lack of adult attention and association.

Edmiston and Baird studied the adjustment of orphanage /

orphanage children (using the California Test of Personality) comparing 1058 children from eight orphanages with 207 public school pupils. In general adjustment the institution children were below normal. Brown, using the Brown Personality Inventory, found no significant difference in neuroticism between institution and non-institution groups of the same socio-economic status, though the institution group were rather more neurotic than the general population. He noted a smaller range of variability in the orphanage group. Each of his groups included 200 children of both sexes.

Smith and Hixon compared 113 orphans with 426 non-orphans on the Otis Intelligence Scale, Gates Silent Reading and the Stanford Achievement Scale. They found consistent but small and statistically insignificant differences favouring non-orphans, who were, however, from relatively superior homes. Willoughby made a questionnaire-type study which compared 319 institution and other dependent children with a group of ordinary children. Teachers' ratings of behaviour, intelligence, progress, health, etc. were taken, and it was concluded that the dependent children were handicapped by about one-fifth. Boys were handicapped more than girls.

These /

These last four studies are of the group and questionnaire type, and carry the disadvantages of such methods. However, they do indicate general trends.

R.J. Levy compared the developmental quotients of 101 nursery school children and 129 children in a nursery institution. She used the Gesell, Kuhlmann, Merrill-Palmer and Vineland Social Maturity Scales, and also the Stanford-Binet, having two or more for each child. The children were compared in three groups (i) under six months; (ii) six to twelve months; (iii) over twelve months.

The educational background of the mother was used as an index of hereditary factors, and the two groups were comparable in this respect. Unfortunately her groups were uneven and somewhat imperfect as regards comparison, but she noted a measurable difference between the institution and the private family child at the three ages.

H.H. Anderson has presented a study of the dominative and integrative behaviour of three groups (totalling 128) of pre-school children. One was an ordinary nursery school group in the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, another a group of orphanage children attending nursery school in the orphanage, and the third a non-nursery school orphanage group. The children were taken in pairs (pairing being between the groups) to the testing room and permitted to play in the sand-tray /

sand-tray with certain toys. Observation was made for five minutes, and ratings made of the behaviour of each child relative to the other.

Dominative and integrative behaviour are defined by the author: in brief they are respectively the aggressive, anti-social aspects and the co-operative, socialised aspects of interpersonal relationships.

She noted that the Iowa City children held a definite superiority, showing significantly higher social interactivity than either of the orphanage groups. They were significantly superior to both orphanage groups in integrative behaviour and significantly lower than the orphanage nursery school group in dominative behaviour. She also observed that the orphanage nursery school group was superior to the orphanage non-nursery group in total activity, but gained this advantage in dominative behaviour. The two groups were about equal in integrative behaviour.

Bowley has produced a small book on the subject which contains a few case histories and some comparative material, but these unfortunately are not presented with adequate sampling or statistical data. Similar factors to those detailed in this Chapter are noted.

Lowrey studied twenty-eight infants under the age of two in an institution, and he noted a pattern of severely disturbed personality in these children, which corresponds /

corresponds with other studies. Orgel has criticised Lowrey's findings, but he bases his criticisms on an imperfectly reported study of sixteen cases, and the value of his findings is in doubt. He claims that only two showed the adverse effects Lowrey noted. He also discusses the question of parent-substitution by nurses.

Clardy and Hill have noted a greater-than-average frequency of sleep disorder (which decreased with age) in 146 institutional children of five to fourteen years.

Ruzick, in Germany, compared a group of institutionalised neglected children with normals on cheating, lying and deceit, and found that the former to be more adept in each.

M. Smith observed the unsupervised behaviour of a group of institution children (25 boys; 21 girls) aged four to nine years. Aggressive behaviour was noted, among other features, but no comparison with a normal group is given.

Bodman and his associates working in England have reported on the social adaptation of a group of fifty institutional children. On the Vineland Social Maturity Scale (a dubious criterion, however) he found them socially less well adjusted than a normal control group, and he attributed this to lack of opportunity in one-third of the cases. He noted that in adolescence they showed less interest in the opposite sex than the control group, and they were also prone to failure in their first employment.

An /

An interesting observation on the physical growth of institution children correlated with socio-emotional factors is presented by Fried and Mayer. They noted that the health and nutrition of institution children were usually very good (a finding also presented by Holt and Faber some years ago). Observations in Scotland (Davidson, private communication) confirm this matter. Dentists have also commented on the sound teeth and relative absence of caries among such children. Nevertheless it is commonly observed that in spite of being healthy such children are less tall than the normal population.

Using the Wetzel Grid, Fried and Mayer demonstrated in four cases a growth failure in institution children (in spite of excellent diet and physical conditions) at the time of pronounced psychological upset. They moreover demonstrated a resumption of normal growth following psychotherapeutic measures to re-adjust the children. They comment on the useful nature of the Wetzel technique both as a diagnostic tool and as a measure of successful therapy, and they also stress the unrewarding nature of efforts to correct physical underdevelopment in disturbed children without also treating the psychological factors that may be causal. Their numbers are too small to be conclusive, but they are nevertheless suggestive.

One of the best comparative studies of the personality of the child with institutional experience is that made by Goldfarb /

Goldfarb (1943) on groups of children in the care of the New York Association for Jewish Children. The work was carefully prepared to examine the relative merits of institution and foster-home care for dependent children. He has been able to select samples which, so far as is possible, were equated for hereditary factors by considering the mother's occupational educational and intellectual status. Any advantages of heredity that may have existed were in favour of the institution group. Care was also taken to ensure as much uniformity as possible in the standards of the foster-homes chosen. The institution group consisted of children who had spent about three years from infancy in a well-equipped institution, and had then been boarded-out in foster-homes. The foster-home group had passed with little delay from their true mothers to the foster-mothers.

The first study included two series, A and B, each of forty children (20 institution children; 20 foster-home). The details of the groups are as follows:

	Series A.		Series B.	
	Institution Group.	Foster-home Group.	Institution. Group.	Foster-home Group
Average-age on admission	7 mos.	--	2 mos.	--
age transfer to foster-home.	3-3	6 mos.	3-3	4 mos.
institution experience	2-8	none	3-1	none
time in foster-home	3-7	6-4	5-2	8-2
age at time of study.	6-9	6-10	8-6	8-6

The /

The method of study was to supply check-lists to the case worker supervising the families. These workers were not informed of the purpose of the study to guard against bias. The list consisted of thirty-five items under the headings faulty routine habits, conduct and discipline problems, social adjustment, emotional problems, speech retardation.

All of the institution groups showed some problem behaviour, whereas 13 of the 40 children in the foster-home group showed no problem at all. Series A and B were parallel in trend. The foster-home groups showed a greater proportion of withdrawal-type problems (passive anxiety as indicated by shyness and timidity) but on total the institution group showed more problems, and a greater frequency of overtly anxious and aggressive behaviour. The institution groups seemed more demanding of adult attention (the younger group A more than B).

Regarding speech retardation there was a marked difference in Series A (80% of the institution group against 15% in the foster-home group), but in Series B the groups were equal (20% in each).

This study is continued by following up the later histories of these children, particularly in regard to changes of foster-home (1944). In the foster-home groups only one child needed replacement owing to misbehaviour, and even this case was a reaction to a hasty emergency placement. The institution group showed 21 replacements (involving 12 children) precipitated by misbehaviour of the child. (Some other replacements in all groups /

groups were needed for reasons not related to the child's conduct). The problems shown by the twelve children of the institution group are aggressive and hyperactive behaviour, peculiar and bizarre behaviour and unresponsiveness.

In another thorough examination (1943 b) he compared two groups of fifteen (institution and foster-home, paired as before) the ages in this case ranging from 10 to 14 years. He subjected the children to a battery of tests. On the Wechsler Bellevue Scale the institution group was again inferior, having a mean score on the Weigl colour-form test of 2.4 against 6.8 and on the Vigotsky 0.5 against 4.7. On educational achievement (using standard scales in arithmetic and reading) the institution group was inferior.

He also employed the Vineland Social Maturity Scale (which was completed by the case worker) and the S.Q. of the groups were 79.0 and 98.8 in favour of the foster-home children. Being standardised for an American population, the Scale is more acceptable in this study than where it is applied to British children.

He also compared the institution group with a group of 28 defective children, aged 11 to 14 years, on conceptual performance, and found them inferior even to these. (The foster-homes group was superior).

Speech defects in the institution group (including errors in fluency, diction, etc.) were noted by the case worker.

He /

He also performed an interesting experiment on the reaction to frustration of these children. The situation involved a telephone with the receiver off its hook. A chalk line was drawn on the floor, and the subject was instructed to replace the receiver without touching the floor beyond the line with any part of the body. A small table was placed so that this was possible by resting one hand on the table and so leaning over the line. After the subject had solved this problem (or had been given a hint after three minutes and told the solution after five) he was instructed to find a further solution (which is not possible). The second period continued for five minutes, after which the subject was interrupted and held in conversation on his feelings towards the experiment. He was given time to resume spontaneously and failing this was asked to do so. Two additional periods of five minutes trial were given. The test was scored on the following convention, using five-point scales (except in (a)).

(a) Resumption spontaneously after interruption ..... 4 points
Resumption after reminder ..... 3 points
Resumption after direct request ..... 2 points
Refusal to resume ..... 1 point
(b) Psychological departure (day dreaming etc.) 1 point off for each thirty seconds delay.
(c) Tension, scored on scale no-tension -- extreme agitation.
(d) Level of aspiration (as reported by subject).
(e) Competition (the effect of saying "a little less than half of the children succeed").
(f) Blame (reported experience of guilt or shame on failure)
(g) Violation of the prohibition by crossing the line.

The /

The institution group (as compared with the foster-home group) showed no rise in tension, indifference to failure, no effect of competition, no response to success in the first part of the test. There were no apathetic children in the foster-home group, whereas 73% of the institution children were so rated. The foster-home group was superior in resumption, and were less prone to violate the rule. In his conclusions Goldfarb states that cultural deprivation appears to result in primitivization of behaviour. The personality is, in Lewin's terms, less differentiated. The typical institution personality is given to diffuse, unrefined or perseverative responses. The early impoverishment of the institution environment restricts the use of mental tools - language, vocabulary and information. These handicaps are not overcome by later community experience, as motivation and ambition are absent. He refers these conditions back to the routine and minimal allowance for individual differences in the institution.

In discussing the place of inhibition in the process of differentiation he says "... it is probable that the undifferentiated, apathetic personalities of the institution child stand in a direct relationship to a qualitative and quantitative deficiency in the general inhibitory process". This is reflected in the tendency to aimless, unreflective behaviour, lack of concentration, minimal ambition etc.

Aggressive /

Aggressive behaviour is, however, somewhat socialised in the Institution.

The impoverished human relationships in the early years of these children did not give a basis for later growth on foster-home placement, and the inability to form relationships with others led to insecurity and behaviour problems. He mentions that the institution in which these children were reared is "regarded as one of the better infant institutions".

In a later study (1947) he states that this institution was unusually well-equipped, but to guard against infection babies under nine months were isolated in cubicles. There had in fact been no epidemics in years, but the place was "psychologically toxic". The nurses had too little time for individual handling and the babies were left much alone.

In another study (1945) a total of 70 pairs of children were mentioned (it is not clear how many, if any, of these were children included in the earlier studies), and an extensive examination made of 15 equated pairs similar to those in the previous study. These latter groups each consisted of 8 boys and 7 girls with an average age of 12 years 2 months. He makes the following observations, which are based mainly on the last mentioned groups. He finds inferior intellectual performance characteristic of the child who has spent the early years in an institution /

institution, and this holds at all ages studied. He states that a defective level of concept formation is typical, there being difficulty in organising a variety of stimuli and abstracting relationships. This statement is based on the observations that the institution child has consistent difficulty in learning songs, rhymes and stories, is late in grasping number concepts: computation tables are learned by rote without understanding. Insightful learning is handicapped. There is difficulty with time and space concepts and a disregard of time-space limitations, e.g. wandering and dawdling. The institution child is unresponsive to normal motivation. Even as late as adolescence he is unable to recall the past clearly or to anticipate the future. He is immediate in response and unorganised and ineffectual. He is liable to respond to details of the environment rather than to its total import, and attacks problems by trial and error rather than by reason.

In emotional trends, he shows little of the normal inhibitory patterns (fourteen of the fifteen cases had a history of extremely difficult behaviour). There is defective maturation and primitivization of personality. Hyperactivity and disorganisation are major symptoms and when strong external controls are imposed tics, grimaces, etc. appear.

There /

There is affect-hunger, with demands for affection and an exaggerated response to denial or thwarting. Emotionally he is impervious and there is a superficiality of relationships. In adolescence is apt to be cold and apparently indifferent to changes of foster-home. Following aggressive or hostile acts there is an absence of normal tension and anxiety. Failure and punishment are accepted complacently, and in social maturity the institution child is inferior. In a further study (1947) Goldfarb studied the subsequent adjustment of two groups of foster children who had all between 2 and 3 years institution experience in infancy. He took a number of cases (all over 12 years old) who had longer foster-home than institution experiences, and he rated them A, B. or C.

A good adjustment, no serious problems, functions well in home, school and community. Emotional problems not observed by the case-worker, or were adequately handled by the foster parents.

B mild problems shown, but no marked disturbance.

C severe behaviour problems.

Fifteen children in category A were then equated for age and sex with fifteen from C. A then consisted of eight boys seven girls, mean age 14 years 5 months ± 2 years 1 month. C then consisted of eight boys, seven girls, 14 years 8 months, ± 2 years 1 month.

All /

All the foster-parents (being selected by the Agency) were fairly uniform, the true mothers of all the children were also fairly uniform, with perhaps a slight advantage in favour of the group C, so far as intelligence is concerned. All the children were illegitimate, and the fathers were unknown. Two factors of significance emerged from this study.

(i) Most of the children poorly adjusted in adolescence had been rated as poorly adjusted in the first six months of foster-home life. This suggests that the institution experience was causal or at least contributory.

(ii) When analysed for age on admission and length of stay in the institution the well-adjusted Group A had entered later and stayed less time.

	A	C
Mean age on admission	10.9 months	5.8 months
Length of stay	25.5 months	34 months

In group A 4 entered below six months of age and 4 over six months. In Group C 11 entered below six months of age and 4 over six months.

The findings of this study seem to suggest that the effects of early institution experience are permanent and that the age of institution admission and length of stay are factors in maladjustment, though some other studies leave doubt as to whether early-deprivation is in fact more unfortunate than later-deprivation.

In the latest of the series (1949) Goldfarb examined the resemblances that exist between the personality pattern /

pattern of the institution child and the schizophrenic. The question was approached from the point of view of concrete and abstract attitudes (Goldstein and Scheeren).

The concrete attitude is defined as unreflective and passive, directed by immediate claims, and it may be rigid and perseverative. It is responsive to all environmental stimuli and hence is restless and distractible. In the abstract attitude the ego is detachable from the outer world or from inner experience. Sets are consciously and wilfully assumed as a rational activity, shifting from part to part of a situation but holding various aspects simultaneously in mind. There is a grasp of the essentials of a given whole, and an analysis of wholes into parts. There is abstract thought with planful and symbolic ideation.

A normal individual is able to assume both concrete and abstract attitudes, but, states Goldfarb, both the institutionalized individual and the schizophrenic tend to be limited to the concrete.

As a criticism of this point of view, he is entitled, in view of the evidence he has presented, to regard the institutionalized personality to be limited to the concrete attitude, but it is doubtful whether he can make the same claim for the schizophrenic. The latter can certainly enter the abstract attitude -- too much, infact. The schizophrenic has /

has, however, lost control of his settings, his holdings and his shiftings and his symbolic ideation, so that these no longer correspond with reality. There should be no difficulty in distinguishing the institutionalised case and the schizophrenic, though both may have the common factor of inaccessibility. Certain pre-schizoid states might possibly be confused with the institutionalized.

In this study comparison of Rorschach data was made between three groups with an average age of about 12 years 3 months, each of eight boys and seven girls. The groups were institution-reared and foster-home as in the earlier studies, plus a group of schizophrenic children.

Significant similarities were found in the Rorschach protocols of the schizophrenic and institution groups, both of which differed from the foster-home group. Both the former groups were deficient in rational control, regard for reality, lack of consistent drive for intellectual and social attainment, and lack of emotional maturity. The schizophrenic group differed from the institutional in having greater productivity, greater perseveration and more tendency to P responses. He related these differences to the anxiety of the schizophrenic group, which was lacking in the other, and the presence of anxiety is the key differential.

Whilst confusion in diagnosis might exist between the two groups on Rorschach performance (and Goldfarb warns against /

against diagnosis on this basis alone), wider consideration should dispel any difficulty.

This series of studies has been reported in some detail as it is one of the few satisfactory works on the total personality of the institution child. Admittedly the samples are small, but they are carefully controlled and the significant factors are well equated. The statistical handling of the data is good. Such meticulous treatment of a small number of cases is more satisfactory than the inventory-type of studies that have been reviewed at the beginning of the Chapter.

The 1947 study modifies the rather severe picture of the institution child presented by the earlier studies. It is clear from this that not all infants who have had fairly long institutional experience are doomed to the more extreme type of personality difficulties. It is unfortunate that his foster-groups were not compared with a normal sample who had lived all their lives with the true mother. The data given suggests that these children come at the lower end of the normal range.

An interesting experiment is quoted by Buhler (1935). Two groups of children aged 2 years living in the same orphanage were separated from each other and treated differently. One group continued in the normal care provided, receiving adequate material care but little attention /

attention or tenderness. In the other group a nurse was assigned to each child, and ample attention and tenderness was given. At the end of six months the experimental group was markedly advanced in development as compared with the control, showing how the lack of individual care at this age can influence development.

In a paper based on general observations, and not a specific study, Schryver points out that the possible reactions of orphans are legion, according to their personality make-up at the time of deprivation, but she classifies these reactions under two headings (a) too early and too strong striving for independence and self-sufficiency; (b) tendency to seek love by attention-getting mechanisms. She also discusses the difficulties of orphans in accepting parent-substitutes, and their tendency to idealise the absent parent in a manner which makes possible substitutes seem, by comparison, too imperfect.

Harms also discusses the orphan and states: "the only characteristic one may underline as to be found in nearly all orphans is insecurity". Insecurity is not defined.

Bowley notes mental and educational retardation and social backwardness in her book on the institution child.

An interesting historical note on the 'institution personality' is presented by Mary Hopkirk. She quotes an authoritative /

authoritative writer in 1861 as saying "... a torpor of both the mental and physical system characterises all workhouse children. Anyone experienced in visiting Union schools may easily point out which of the children has been longest there, by the greater vacancy of expression; every year of workhouse life lessens the power of thought and produces an increase of torpor..... the true workhouse child is sullen, suspicious and discontented".

Only one follow-up study into adult life has been reported in the literature, this by Stutte. The children of 114 former institutionalised individuals have been examined and a large proportion showed personality failings which were related to the defects of the parents. (The original is not available and this information is from an inadequate abstract). Another study, which is not specifically a follow-up of institution children, was made by Trenaman of young soldiers who were persistent offenders in the Army. A number of these were boys from Homes, and he was particularly impressed by what he calls their "inner helplessness" in early adult life. They were deficient in forethought, and were unable to keep their end up through even quite a short period of difficulty or stress. However, these were not a representative sample of former Homes boys, so it does not follow that all are like this, although one fears that many might be.

The material reported here represents the total of

the literature on institution children (that is, disregarding institutionalised defectives and delinquents) which have made a planned study of the subject. A fairly extensive literature exists recording the observations of social workers and others on such children: these are not without value, but they are limited by the lack of objectivity, controls and statistical treatment.

To summarise these findings, which are pretty consistent in showing an inferiority of the institution child as compared with the family reared one, the following are the general characteristics of institutionalisation.

i. A restriction of intellectual development as manifest in a lower I.Q., defective concept-formation and poor memory function.

ii. Arising from these, poor educational attainment and impoverished ideation.

iii. Lowered emotional tone.

iv. Superficiality of inter-personal relationships.

v. Low level of aspiration, behaviour little influenced by reward or punishment.

vi. Inadequate social behaviour.

vii. Impaired initiative.

Goldfarb summarised the matter as 'primitivisation of personality'.

It should be noted that this picture of the 'institution personality' is based mainly on descriptions of children /

children having institutional experience in infancy and early childhood. These children had little or no start in family life. It will be necessary to see what difference, if any, is noted when one examines children who started in normal family life and later became orphaned, and those who have grown up in disintegrating families, becoming institutionalised on the final break-up.

Chapter 17.

EMOTIONAL FACTORS AND INTELLIGENCE.

It is a common assumption in fields of applied psychology, that intelligence (or at least performance on intelligence tests) is influenced by emotional factors, emotional difficulties tending to lower performance and to depress the I.Q. The necessity for rapport, the subject being at ease in the test situation is, of course, universally recognised, but the influence of more general emotional factors on the subject's customary level of performance has been very little dealt with in the literature. Dulsky (writing in 1942) remarks: "Although the problem of affect-intellect relationship has great theoretical and practical implications the work in this field is meagre and dates back only to about 1930". (p. 199). It is still meagre.

Stott, in his discussion of delinquency, writes: "Among this series we have been able to see, in fact, just how their emotional disturbance impaired their mental affectiveness. The 'avoidance type' above all lacks the calmness of mind necessary for the consideration of an abstract problem". (p. 367). A rise in the I.Q. is sometimes used in clinical studies as an indication of successful therapy.

Some indirect evidence on the question of emotional influences is supplied by experimental studies of cognitive functioning /

functioning under conditions of stress (see Chapter on Frustration), and it is clear that intellectual performance may deteriorate under conditions of heightened emotionality and tension in specific situations. It is, of course, arguing beyond these facts to claim that a person in a state of constantly raised emotionality and tension owing to personality disturbance will suffer the same disabilities as those noted in experimental situations, but the assumption is not unreasonable. One is also making an assumption in claiming that a disturbed personality is in a state of constant tension, but this assumption is not without justification. It also seems valid to suppose that removal of the tension by therapeutic measures may release the cognitive functions from these depressions (except, of course, that long-continued levels of functioning may become habitual).

Dulsky (1942) in his review of the most relevant literature on the effect of emotional factors in the I.Q. itself, notes that there has been more theorising than experimenting in this subject.

Clark, in a theoretical discussion based on his experience with mental defectives, suggested that the individual is born with certain intellectual capacities which develop at their own rate, but that severe emotional disturbance would impede the rate of growth.

Miller /

Miller, on the basis of an experimental study, claims that affective disturbances act in an inhibitory way on intellectual out-put. Klein states that "the presence of excessively strong early anxiety situations, and the predominance of a threatening super-ego, are fundamental factors in the production of disturbances of ego-development and intellectual inhibition". Chichester; Ackerman and Menninger; Chichester and Karl Menninger, each quote a few case histories supporting this contention. Skeels and Dye, working with mentally retarded pre-school children, have claimed a relation between affect and intellect and moreover claim that normal mental development hinges on satisfactory emotional relationships -- "an intimate and close relationship between the child and an interested adult seems to be a factor of importance in the mental development of young children".

Whilst clinical experience gives very good reason for supposing that these claims are valid, there have been few experimental studies designed to test these observations, or to examine such questions as whether emotional disturbance is always accompanied by intellectual retardation (or whether, even, as some writers have suggested, mental defect without demonstrable organic factors is always due to such disturbances).

Dulsky /

Dulsky reviews a number of studies: two of these (Chichester, and Ackerman; and Menninger) are based on single cases and even at that are methodologically unsound. In the first a rise from an I.Q. of 57 to 91 is reported, in the second a rise from 62 to 90: in both cases treatment was psychoanalytic. Miller studied twenty-five orphanage children aged 7 to 14 years: in sixteen cases a rise in I.Q. accompanied psychotherapy, but the whole study is couched in vague terms (e.g. "an appreciable improvement in intellectual output", without supporting data) and such important information as the tests used, the method of diagnosis of emotional disturbance, etc., are omitted, so that the validity of the conclusions reached is uncertain. Hunsley has presented a study which is more valid statistically, but gives insufficient details as to the nature of the child's difficulties or the methods of treatment, the intervals between tests, and other relevant information. Fifty cases were selected from the files of Sioux City Public Schools (basis of selection not given, except that they had been under observation for a long period). The children were tested with the 1916 and 1937 Stanford-Binet Tests, but in some cases the test was not given until several months after treatment was started, and in others several months before. The children were aged 5 to 13½ years and the interval between tests ranged from five months to seven years (median 3 years). The /

The greatest increase in I.Q. was 42 points with a median of 20 points.

Dulsky's own study was designed to answer the following questions: (a) is it possible to determine reliably the intelligence of an emotionally disturbed child? (b) will the intelligence rating rise if the emotional adjustment is ameliorated? (c) does an emotional maladjustment act as a block on efficient test performance?

On the basis of such information as is presented in the literature cited above, he argues that a reliable test rating cannot be secured for an emotionally disturbed child for one or both of two reasons:

(i) the emotional behaviour acts as an inhibitor of intelligent behaviour

(ii) the emotional disturbance interferes with the learning process, so diminishing the score for lack of information. (whilst this would apply to the tests Dulsky uses, it might not apply to such tests as the Progressive Matrices).

This being so, either or both of two results may be observed on removing the emotional disturbance: (a) there may be an immediate rise in I.Q. as the blockage is lifted; (b) there may be a rise in I.Q. in the future as the inhibition on learning is lifted.

These proposals were tested experimentally on thirteen children (four girls, nine boys) aged 4 to 15½ years, who were referred to the clinic for treatment. All were agreed by case-conference to be seriously disturbed and needing extensive psychotherapy. /

psychotherapy. Treatment consisted of individual play-therapy in weekly sessions of one hour, and P.S.W.'s co-operated with the psychiatrist in the social side of treatment. Pre-psychotics and brain lesion cases were eliminated. The tests used were either the 1916 or 1937 Stanford Revision (Form L). The length of treatment, co-operation of patient and other relevant data are supplied, but no details are given of the nature of individual cases. The degree of emotional readjustment was rated on a five-point scale and the subjects were rated unimproved, very much, or somewhat improved, after treatment. The following numerical data is of particular interest.

(a) The average I.Q. of the thirteen cases before treatment was 99.3 range 73-139.

(b) The average I.Q. of the thirteen cases after treatment was 103 range 76-150.

(c) Eight cases made an average gain in I.Q. of 8.6 points, range 1-17.

(d) Five cases made an average loss in I.Q. of 4.2 points, range 3-7.

(e) Four cases increased 11 points or more, which is over three times the P.E.

(f) One case decreased 7 points, which is between two and three times the P.E.

Thus four increases were significant and only one decrease was at all significant.

Dulsky /

Dulsky concludes that the group of thirteen children as a whole showed no significant improvement in test score following improved social and emotional adjustment, but that four children (31%) did show significant gains. More children showed gains than losses, and the average gain was twice the average loss.

In discussing these results he suggests that in the nine cases which showed no gain in I.Q. the connection between the neurosis and intellect was minimal. "The author would speculate that in some disturbed children the reduction in efficiency of intelligent behaviour is a logical result of the dynamics of the neurosis, i.e. there is present some unconscious need for inhibiting the full expression of the intellect. In other disturbed children such a need might not exist...." (p. 217). This is a similar idea to Stott's proposal of an "unconscious wish to be stupid".

Now it is evident that in certain cases (Edelston, for example, quotes one such) a child may adopt an attitude of stupidity as a more-or-less conscious act of resistance to over-ambitious parents, of similar circumstances, to be a dubious procedure to propose an unconscious motive of this sort in the absence of very clear evidence to support it. Certainly /

Certainly it is a useful suggestion that in some cases there may be a relationship between intellect and emotions in the dynamic structure of a neurosis, and that this relation may be absent in others, but unconscious wishes of the sort proposed are not the only means of accounting for such a structure and these proposals should not be allowed to fog the issue.

Despert and Pierce present a carefully documented study of thirty-nine nursery-school children (aged 2 to 6 years). The children were those in the school who happened to have two or more Binet scores (Stanford-Revision 1937) available, and a careful investigation was made of their records of socio-emotional adjustment. (The school was attached to a psychiatric hospital and observational studies were made as a routine: the children were not selected by the school on any psychiatric basis, though its location coupled with the availability of psychiatric treatment probably had a selective influence on the children sent to the school). Though the range was wide (about 80 to 160) the average I.Q. for the school was well above average (about 120). The thirty-nine subjects of this study were divided into two groups on the basis of test-retest comparisons.

Group I (a) Twelve children with significant (greater than ten points) change of I.Q. upwards.

(b) Ten children with significant changes downwards.

Group II. Seventeen children with insignificant changes of I.Q.

The /

The interval between tests ranged from three to sixteen months on thirty-eight children. The thirty-ninth was re-tested after twenty-six months.

Group I First Test: Mean I.Q. 121.8 range 79-157
Re-test: Mean I.Q. 121.9 range 100-154.

Twelve cases gained 10-31 points.
Ten cases lost 10-19 points.

Group II First Test: Mean I.Q. 120.8 range 96-142.
Re-test: Mean I.Q. 121.3 range 100-145.

Eight cases gained 1-9 points
Eight cases lost 1-10 points
One case showed no change.

Relevant biographical facts are given for the thirty-nine cases, and a number of cases are illustrated in detail. In all of the twenty-two cases in Group I, where a significant change of I.Q. was noted, these changes were concomitant with changes in the socio-emotional adjustment of the children. In the sub-group showing a rise of I.Q. this change was in each case coincident with an observed betterment of adjustment of the child in the nursery school setting. In the sub-group showing a fall a concomitant worsening of adjustment was also noted, and this was usually at the time of some unfavourable change in the home (e.g. the birth of a sibling which aroused jealousy).

The seventeen children showing no significant changes in I.Q. presented no change in their adjustment or background. In four cases they were stable, well-adjusted children whose home life was satisfactory. The other thirteen cases were children /

children who showed some measure of maladjustment and unsatisfactory elements in the home background, but no change in these conditions during the period of the study.

The authors conclude as follows: "The present study emphasises that intellectual function, as measured through psychometric tests, shows fluctuations, and that the child's total emotional adjustment influences his test score. It also points to the need of a projective technique, in addition to the usual methods of psychometric testing, as a means of detecting factors inhibiting the intellectual function.

The clinical data have been presented and analysed, but no hypothesis has been formulated regarding the inhibition of the intellectual function through emotional causes". (p. 53).

A somewhat different aspect of the question is given by Edelston who describes a number of cases of children of high or very high I.Q. who showed a record of school achievement far below their potentialities. In some cases, indeed, their teachers had suspected these children of being below rather than well above the average in intelligence. Their school failure was in each of the eighteen cases cited related to emotional difficulties, and in cases where therapy was successful the gap between potential and actual performance was narrowed. It appears from this study that emotional difficulties which affect school-performance may not necessarily /

necessarily mask a high I.Q., as measured by test performance, though the question is, of course, open as to how much higher still these children may have rated if they had been undisturbed. It is highly improbable that the I.Q.'s were depressed (if at all) to the same extent as achievement, as this would in some cases have given true I.Q.'s in the region of 180 or even higher. It would seem that these children were cases in which (to vary Dulsky's concept) the relation between emotion and intellect was not total: emotional factors had left intelligence relatively undisturbed, but had inhibited the use of this intelligence.

This leads on to a recent article by Wechsler (1950) in which he discusses what he calls the non-intellective factors in intelligence. He commences with a statement that would earn the agreement of most clinical psychologists, "..... general intelligence cannot be equated with intellectual ability however broadly defined, but must be regarded as a manifestation of the personality as a whole".

In an earlier paper (1940) he has stated, "as soon as one attempts to define general intelligence in terms other than test scores, one is forced to conclude that intelligent behaviour must involve something more than sheer intellectual ability". (p. 444).

He bases these statements on two lines of evidence: clinical experience shows that individuals with identical I.Q.'s may /

may differ very widely in their ability to cope with their environment, and a second source of evidence comes from factorial analysis. The available studies of factorial analyses of inter-test correlations are not extensive, but they do show that it is not possible to account for more than 50% to 70% of the inter-test correlational variance after all recognisable intellectual factors are eliminated, so that between 30% and 50% of the total factorial variance must be accounted for by other factors. The work of Alexander, Webb, Cattell and others suggest that this residual variance is contributed by temperamental factors such as perseveration, drive, energy, impulsiveness. These factors must, Wechsler maintains, be considered part and parcel of intelligent behaviour, and it is these that he calls the non-intellective factors of intelligence. These factors do, in fact, enter into the traditional type of intelligence test, but in the future construction of tests they should be included by design rather than haphazard. (He has attempted to do this in his own scale).

It will be noted that these non-intellective factors are innate, and are distinct from environmental factors such as education, home circumstances, etc., and are also distinct from such factors as state of health.

Making /

Making use of Wechsler's concepts we are perhaps now in a position to add a little to the idea that emotional and intellectual activities are closely related, and also to make a suggestion as to the reason for emotional factors sometimes inhibiting intelligent behaviour and in other cases apparently not. Lack of any definitive study of the structure of a neurosis prevents one from making more than a suggestion in this direction. It would seem, however, that when a personality disturbance affects those non-intellective factors of intelligence, then intelligent behaviour will also be affected. In other cases (like those described by Edelston) the disturbance influences areas of personality (such as motivation in the school-situation) which are not part of intelligent behaviour, so that intelligence itself is unimpaired, only the use that is made of it. An interesting case of the reverse process, which supports Wechsler's contentions on the importance of total personality, is of a boy with an I.Q. of only 102 who forced his way through secondary-school in his desire to out-do a brighter sister, and gained four credits in School Certificate. (Edelston p. 102).

A further matter of importance to this question of emotional and intellectual factors is the so-called "constancy of the I.Q.". Examination of the figures supplied by Dulsky and /

and by Despert and Pierce of test-retest I.Q.'s do support the general contention that when groups are considered the I.Q. does not vary a great deal. Their figures were:

	Test	Re-Test
Dulsky	99.3	103
Despert and Pierce -		
Group I	121.8	121.9
Group II	120.8	121.3

Nevertheless it was seen that this group-constancy masked quite wide individual variations, and the constancy of the I.Q. is a statistical myth. Within a given normal sample it is probably true that the bulk of cases are constant, and moreover the gains and losses occurring in the fluctuating cases tend to cancel one another out (as shown by the above studies). The possibility exists, however, that in a selected sample the losses (or the gains) may not cancel out so that the level of the group is deflected.

It may be that an institution group is a selected sample in which circumstances are such that the losses outweigh the gains, so that the level of the group is depressed.

Evidence supporting this is found in Goldfarb's comparison of children with similar backgrounds reared in foster-homes and institution. Although any advantage of inheritance (as estimated by social status of the mother) lay with the institution group they averaged 72.4 points of I.Q. against /

against 95.4 for the foster-home group (Wechsler-Bellevue Scale). A similar depression was found in other intellectual tests. It seems likely that the depressive factors lay in the institution environment.

The question arises as to how much of this low intellectual level can be attributed to poor hereditary endowment (for it has been suggested that there is a selective factor working which tends to make an institution population an unfavoured one, quite apart from the specific experience of institution life), and how much is due to the sort of factors discussed in_____

in this Chapter. Would these children be dull anyway, whether reared at home or deprived? Is the observed dulness entirely innate, or has it been worsened by the experience of deprivation? Or are these potentially average children rendered subnormal by their experiences, which are the sole cause of the condition?

On theoretical grounds one could suppose that both factors are operative, and this is probably the case. Certain studies, for example those by Skodak and Skeels of foster-children, and by Goldfarb and others, as quoted elsewhere in this volume, arouse the suspicion that inheritance is not an absolute determinant of intellectual level. Skodak and Skeels quote a substantial number of cases of children with feeble-minded mothers who performed well above the average when reared in superior foster-homes. This study, and others on similar lines, is handicapped by lack of knowledge of the father's contribution to inheritance (most of the children concerned being illegitimate babies, with the father untraceable), but although the evidence so far available is far from conclusive, it does seem to indicate that environmental factors might be very important. Perhaps inheritance sets the upper limit to intelligence, but the environment determines at what level up to that limit the individual will function. An examination of the effects of institutionalisation shows that they are by no /

no means favourable to a high level of intellectual performance. Intelligent behaviour demands concentration, in which the deprived child is deficient, it requires initiative in dealing with novel problems, in which these children are again handicapped: even the low level of aspiration which is typical of them will influence the level of performance both in real situations demanding intelligent behaviour, and in the artificial test situation.

Four factors can be isolated which contribute to the low intellectual level of institution children, one or more of which may be operative in individual cases.

a. Heredity.

b. The generalised personality defects, the 'primitivisation' of personality, which typify the institution child.

c. An educational defect due to the unstimulating environment, lack of books and other informative material.

d. The inhibition of intellectual performance by specifically emotional difficulties.

The first two factors have been discussed in earlier Chapters. The third is not an inevitable factor contributing to the state of affairs, and in point of fact the average Home probably compares favourably with average family conditions, for the bulk of homes even after eighty years of compulsory education contain little in the way of books or other instructive material. In any case, 'information' and intelligence are related only in the rather narrow view of the latter /

latter, which defines, by implication, intelligent behaviour as success in the school-type of situation, and measures it by performance on vocabulary and other sorts of tests which are related to this kind of situation.

The child who has been in an institution from infancy has been described in earlier Chapters as 'unacculturated'; as it were, the wild variety unstimulated to superior growth by the 'hothouse' of the culture. Such a child is not an anxious child, and is not the subject of the active emotional difficulties which have been the subject of this Chapter. Active neuroses are therefore not important factors in the inhibition of intelligence in the child with institution experience which stretches back to the early years of life. These children are either the unfrustrated 'unacculturated' type, or what to practical purposes comes to the same thing, the 'resigned' type, as described in the Chapter on Frustration. In them there is not the kind of active anxiety or emotional factor at work that may be seen in older children more recently deprived. In the latter cases the factors outlined in this present Chapter are more particularly applicable.

Chapter 18.

THE FAMILY AND THE CHILD'S DEVELOPMENT.

It has been repeatedly mentioned in the preceding Chapters that the family plays an important place in the child's development. The absence of family life has been shown to result in a minimal development, and it is clear that any attempt to co-ordinate the material presented in these Chapters into a unified theoretical system must pay due regard to the family.

A number of educational theorists both in ancient and modern times, have suggested that children should not be reared in a family unit, but in schools apart: some have even claimed that a child should never know who his parents are, being taken straight from the breast to some gymnasium or barracks and reared by strangers. Whilst history does not record any so extreme a system being practised, there was something approaching it in ancient Sparta, and the Spartan model has reappeared more recently in Nazi Germany. An examination of the motives of the advocates of this system shows that they are less concerned with the welfare of the individual than furthering the aims of the State, and they have been more inspired by political expediency than by the interests of the child. Whilst its form and the pattern of relationships within it vary rather widely /

widely, the family is a universal feature of human culture, and, indeed, in spite of the differences in more superficial aspects, the unit of father-mother-children is the basic cell of all human societies. It is apparent that the family is fundamental to an understanding of the child's psychological development.

Sociologists have dealt extensively with the family as a feature of society, but it has received less attention from psychologists, and there is at present only one widely held theory of the mechanisms of the child's development in it, that proposed by Freud, and expanded by the psycho-analytic school. The writings of both Freud and his successors on this subject are prolific, but the essential argument can be presented quite briefly.

Motivation is the fundamental concept of Freud's theoretical system: in all conduct or behaviour there is a motive, and his use of motive and wish as synonymous terms reveals his conception of them; the motives are the sort of thing that can be stated in rational terms. Although capable of conscious enunciation as "wishes", these motives are frequently repressed, so that instead of being conscious, they are unconscious or unknown to the individual. Whilst action may be involuntary in the sense of not having attached a motive or wish that the person is aware of, no behaviour is /

is involuntary in the sense of being determined by random causes. A particular desire, once active, lives on in the individual.

A second fundamental concept is that whatever is forbidden must be desired. Similarly, whatever is feared is likely to be desired. Now according to Freud, even from early infancy the individual has sexual needs that are forbidden by society, and in particular the young boy needs sexual relations with his mother, the young girl with the father. Because these needs are forbidden, the conscious wishes which they arouse have to be denied, and they are repressed: that is, they become unconscious instead of conscious motives. Infancy is the most important phase of the individual's psychological development, and the treatment of this infantile sexuality exerts a prime influence on his personality. Because of the prohibitions attached to the expression of this infantile sexuality, it often comes to be feared as well as merely repressed, and so the desires are increased: such fears are the basis of later neuroses.

Freud has been much influenced by mythology, which he has studied for clues to human conduct, and in the Greek fable of Oedipus he sees this situation described in classical literature. The Oedipus complex is the keystone of his conception of the child's psycholøgical development in the family.

According /

According to Freud, the child has sexual desires that are quite like the adult ones. From the age of two or three he has "intuitively" come to know about sexual life, and he tries to become his mother's lover. He prizes his "badge of masculinity", the penis, and tries to seduce the mother with it. In this oedipus phase he seeks to oust the father from his place in the mother's affections, and to occupy the marriage bed himself. However, he quickly learns that this is unacceptable, and he suppresses his incestuous advances towards the mother, although in phantasy he retains the desires. Instead of attempting to compete with this too powerful rival, he allies himself to the father, and by identifying with him obtains a vicarious satisfaction of his desires.

By the process of infantile amnesis, these early conflicts are forgotten, and the oedipus phase passes. But the boy remains basically in love with his mother, and is basically at emnity with the father. In identifying with the father the boy identifies with authority and with society, although his attitudes are fundamentally ones of opposition rather than of conformity. When the oedipal conflict is resolved, the boy idealises the father, and although still basically hating him, he overlays this with an attitude of love. Presumably on the grounds that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, he imitates his father. Towards the /

the mother he therefore has repressed libidinal desires, and to the father an ambivalent hate-love attitude, with the hate well disguised. This basically hostile attitude to the father is of considerable importance to the theory, for as we shall see later, it forms an essential part of the psycho-analytic explanation of development.

A further complication enters the child's life when, as a result of manipulation of his penis, the mother threatens to cut it off to stop the horrid practice, which she recognises at an attempt to seduce her as well as to give pleasurable sensations to himself. (Freud appears to imply that every male child has this threat made to him). It is the fear of losing this precious adjunct that frightens him into repressing the incestuous desires mentioned. Should he observe a girl's genitals, then his worst fears are confirmed, for here indeed is a castrated sinner. This shock is the severest trauma of a boy's childhood, and is so severe that few of us can recall the moment of horror, too terrible for contemplation and so firmly repressed.

The girl's case is essentially the same, <u>mutatis mutandis</u>, she being in love with her father ahd hating her mother. In her case she has to be resigned to the absence of a penis, but the desire for one has considerable influence on her /

her life. She may even suspect her rival, the mother, of having removed it, and so hates her the more.

The amplification of psycho-analytic concepts by certain writers border on the ludicrous: the account of the child mind and its development given by Melanie Klein, for example, can only be described as fantastic.

Sears (1942) summarises a survey of objective studies of psycho-analytic concepts in the following words:

> 'The experiments and observations examined in this report stand testimony that few investigators feel free to accept Freud's statements at face-value. The reason lies in the same factor that makes psycho-analysis a bad science ... its method. Psycho-analysis relies upon techniques that do not admit of the repetition of observation, that have no self-evident or denotative validity, and that are tinctured to an unknown degree with the observer's own suggestions. These difficulties may not seriously interfere with therapy, but when the method is used for uncovering psychological facts that are required to have objective validity, it simply fails.' (page 133)

In his long lifeFreud was a most prolific writer, and he very extensively elaborated the theoretical system outlined above. His earlier disciples accepted almost all of this without protest as a work of inspiration, although

some/

some contemporaries (notably Jung and Adler), and some later students, have modified parts of the structure. In more recent times attempts have been made to verify the psycho-analytic concepts by the statistical and empirical methods used in more conventional psychological studies. It is not proposed to review this literature, but one recent example will be discussed by way of illustration.

S.M. Friedman has attempted one of the relatively few experimental studies of these concepts, and his study appears well designed and adequate statistical treatment is given to the data. The subjects were 305 children aged 5 to 16 years (equally boys and girls), randomly selected from a school population except that six age-and-sex groups were chosen. He studied the oedipus and castration complexes.

In studying the castration theory, fables were told to the children about animals, using the idea of the Düss story of an elephant, somewhat adapted, e.g.

> "Once there was a little monkey named Franky (Mary). He had a long curly tail. He liked this tail so much that he looked at it every day, and he had all sorts of fun with it. One day Franky woke up and saw that something was different. What do you think had happened?".

The underlying assumpton is that the loss of a projecting extremity (a finger or a tail) is psychologically equivalent to the loss of a penis, that is, the child projects his feaf of castration into his reply.

Now./

Now psycho-analytic theory provides two alternative possibilities in such a situation. The anxieties relating to castration are, supposedly, greatest between 5 and 12 years, therefore "cutting-off" should be most numerous in these years. On the other hand the fears of castration might be so strong that the ego cannot concede the possibility, and these responses would therefore be repressed, and this blocking would be reflected in a longer reaction time. "Cutting-off" plus a longer reaction time would therefore be diagnostic of castration anxiety, and should be most common in the 5 to 12 age range. Friedman, found this to be the case, and therefore regards the hypothesis as proved. He also discusses the sex-differences found in the responses. In the nature of the stories, however, "cutting-off" is the rather naive sort of response that is suggested, and would naturally tend to be given most by the younger children irrespective of castration fears. A more compelling criticism is that his results nowhere give any proof that the original hypothesis is correct, that the "cutting-off" type of response is in fact related to a fear of castration. Hence the whole of his rather elaborate reasoning and deductions are based upon an unproved premise that may be false.

In regard to the oedipus complex, stories and pictures representing various parent-child situations were presented to the subjects. In accordance with the theory, the /

the girls would be expected to show more positive reactions to the father and hostility to the mother, with the reverse for the boys.

The interpretation of the material contains some controversial issues. For example, in one pair of pictures there are steps leading up to the house and the child and father are at the bottom: the child is a girl in the picture shown to the girls, and a boy in the boys' picture. On Freud's assertion that, "stairs, and going up or down them, are symbolic of the sexual act", it would be expected from the oedipus theory that the girl would represent the father mounting the stairs. There is, of course, no proof that Freud's statement is correct, but Friedman did in fact find that a highly significantly greater number of girls than boys made the father mount the stairs, and he regards this as proof of the theory. It could equally well be argued that the replies were related to the girls' greater interest in houses (as shown, for example, in their spontaneous drawings) and has no sexual reference whatever. Had a parallel drawing showing the mother at the foot of the stairs been presented, the same result might well have occurred.

The interpretation of the rest of the material used by Friedman is based in a similar fashion upon certain premises that are unproved, and it can be regarded as proving /

proving the oedipus theory only by those who can accept these premises, which it makes no attempt to test, taking them as axiomatic. In other words, it preaches to the converted and offers nothing to convince the unbeliever.

Another example of psycho-analytic procedure is given by Isaacs (1948). A boy of three-and-a-half was tinkering with a gas-fire, and noted a large screw with a "crack" in it (that is, the slot for the driver). Because he said he did not like the crack, Isaacs makes the following observation: "Here we obviously have his fear of castration, dread that he will have a "crack" instead of a penis". Oh, quite obviously! In another case analysed, one of a man's symptoms was shouting, which he did in the analytic sessions as well as elsewhere. He was also constipated. The observation is "that his shouting represented the attack and defence of part objects by part objects. His enormous voice represented a penetrating penis which he was forcing into me in the most sadistic way, as well as hard forcing fæces, which he forced into me in order to prevent me from getting his fæces,..... equivalent to his secret thoughts and feelings ... out of him". And this sort of thing is produced as "evidence" to "prove" psycho-analytic theory!

A further example of unjustifiable procedure is found in the interpretation of drawing. This is a particularly fruitful /

fruitful field to the analyst who wishes to pull his own leg, because it is almost impossible for the patient to draw anything without including a penis-symbol (i.e. a pointed object) or a womb-symbol (that is, a hollow object, vault, cave or similar shape). Psycho-analysis has committed felo-de-se by reducing its own case to an absurdity .... or is this the inevitable working of the death-instinct?

One feels that Freud and his earlier followers struck a rich vein. They dug it all out, but failed to separate the rubble from the ore, so that to gain the pure metal one has to sift and smelt a great deal of rubbish. Furthermore, the lode is pretty well worked out, so the present workers are bringing out a very low-grade ore: a business man would abandon the mine as beyond further economic working. (The reader will note that this analogy contains a uterine-symbol: he is invited to make just whatever he likes of this).

An examination of the psycho-analytic theory from the point of view of research reveals that the basic concepts are of a kind that are very hard to examine empirically, and many of them are incapable of proof or disproof. Most of the so-called "proof" that has convinced workers in the field of psycho-therapy has come from the analysis of neurotic adults. Even granting that the findings are /

are true for these particular individuals, it does not necessarily follow that they are true of the population as a whole. This is one fallacy in the evidence put forward in support of this theory of the child's development. In the second place much of the evidence derived from neurotic adults is applied to children as if it were normal for them.

Stoke has made an attack on the oedipus theory. As he points out, it is inconsistent with the facts and wears thin in application. It does not deal at all convincingly with the girl's position relative to the father, and it also fails to take adequate account of the place of both parents in the child's development. He points out a serious inconsistency in the "proof" of the theory, for it comes mainly from the memories of neurotic patients. Memory is itself an unreliable guide, but there is also a serious logical difficulty involved: in Freudian theory the absence of recall of the oedipal conflict in normal people is explained by complete repression of the incestuous desires of the young child in the process of resolving the conflict. Thus there is the logically untenable position of using both recall and lack of recall as evidence for the theory.

It further needs to be pointed out that in some cases /

cases at least, the theorist himself has been a person of doubtful normality, and one must question how much of what he claims to find in the mind of the child has been a projection from his own. The fact that an analyst himself undergoes an analysis before practising is a guarantee of normality only to those who accept psycho-analysis. Versteeg-Solleveld has recently suggested that the Freudian idea that the mother-son relationship is the most perfect and least ambivalent of all human relationships is the result of wishful thiking on the part of Freud himself. The theory resolves itself into a circular argument which can be comprehended and believed only by those who are convinced that it is true: the acceptance of its tenets is almost an act of religious conversion.

There are, in the history of science, a number of episodes that warn one that even bodies of learned and intelligent men can for a long time tenaciously hold and vigorously defend theories that are patently absurd. The Phlogiston theory is such a case in the history of Chemistry. Proposed by Becher in the second half of the seventeenth century, this theory had enough credibility to be acceptable to the scientists of his time, but its obvious shortcomings were ignored by men of the calibre of Priestley a century later, even though his own work should have revealed the fallacy /

fallacy to him. In fact when Lavoiser demonstrated that Priestley's own discovery of oxygen disproved the Phlogiston theory, Priestley was a leader in a group that refused to be convinced. Even scientists are not immune from being led astray by improbable hypotheses, and one wonders whether psycho-analysis may not prove to be such an unfortunate episode in the history of Psychology.

Because psycho-analysis has, so far as this writer's understanding of it goes, more of the features of a cult than of a science, one cannot state his acceptance or disagreement in objective terms. Psycho-analysis has a strong element of mysticism in it.

"I must confess", said Oscar Wilde, "That most modern mysticism seems to me to be simply a method of imparting useless knowledge in a form that no-one can understand". The mystic, he adds, possesses "that quality of absolute unintelligibility that is the peculiar privilege of the verbally inspired".

At risk of appearing bigotted, it must be said that no reason is seen why, because some writer has founded a cult, and his disciples and himself have amassed whole libraries of writings about this cult, anyone should be obliged to become learned in it, unless it appears to him to fit the objective facts of the world sufficiently well to be a profitable study.

These /

These writings are so vast and so vague that one can prove almost anything from them. The lack of a coherent theoretical system makes it quite possible for writers to contradict one another in a completely innocent manner and with the utmost good-will. One can, indeed, in this system, believe almost anything he likes, provided it is vague enough to be beyond logical discourse or scientific verification. With the exception of certain concepts that are undoubtedly valuable, and which are accepted gratefully, it does not appear that useful progress in psychology is likely to come from this cult, and therefore it has been preferred to prosecute these studies along other lines that appear more likely to be rewarding. In saying this, the writer is, of course, to be regarded as a bad case, and doubtless it will be pointed out to him how the depth of his repressions blinds him to the truth. Arguments of this kind remind one of the old story about a king who was sold robes "woven from pure gold" by some rogues who told him that they were of unsurpassed beauty, but having magical properties so that they were visible only to honest men. So of course neither the King himself, nor his Court, nor the people, could possibly admit that they saw only his underwear.

In fairness to psycho-analysis it should be said that heretics are arising within its own ranks, so perhaps the small child has already piped up, "But why has the King no clothes on?" Alexander, for example, states of the oedipus complex /

complex that its essence is not the boy's sexual demand for the mother, but rather a "possessive attachment to the person on whom the child depends for satisfaction and security, and jealousy and hostility against competitors".

Psycho-analysis, has, it is suggested, much in common with modern art, for both are the sort of solemn nonsense that deceives the perpetrators more than anyone else: it is something that might well have started as a practical joke on the learned world. Indeed, we have experimental evidence from actual events at Oxford that such a piece of fun can deceive the scholars, who are by no means too guileful to have their legs pulled. It is not, of course, suggested that Freud and his followers have in fact perpetrated a deliberate and gigantic April Fool's game, for they were all far too serious to see the funny side of their philosophy: the joke is on them.

The reader will understand that the rather light-hearted criticism of psycho-analysis given above has a measure of hyperbole. Psycho-analysis has inspired a considerable amount of close observation of human behaviour. It has questioned many of the older views of human conduct, most especially perhaps the notion that man is a rational creature, always managing his affairs in the light of reason, ever distinguishing right from wrong, and choosing either of his own free-will. Numerous concepts that have first

appeared /

appeared in psycho-analytic writings are now a part of psychology and are used and accepted by all, whatever their theoretical orientation. The objections to the doctrine arise not so much from the observations that it has published as from the theories that have been elaborated from these observations. The cardinal error in psycho-analysis is the manner in which it so readily generalises from the particular to the universal. In fact, it could be said that psychology is a science with no universals in its logic, only particulars, but the analysts would have none of this. To quote an example from the earlier pages, it may well have been that some neurotic patient at some time did use 'stairs, and going up or down them' to symbolise the sexual act, but it is quite unjustifiable on that account to assume that no normal (or for that matter abnormal) person can ever mention stairs without really meaning sex. In the same way, one can read Freud's 'Psychopathology of Everyday Life' and agree with it up to a point, but the analysts have such a tendency to work a good idea to death that they see significance in every slip or gesture to the exclusion of other possible explanations. Moreover, it leads them into the realm of pure fancy, for there is no means of knowing, in the majority of cases, whether the interpretation made is correct or not, and vast errors of diagnosis can result from such naive conclusions. Indeed,

one /

one feels that for all the confidence of a profound insight that is assumed by so many analysts, they are really incredibly naive in the ways of the world.

Julian Huxley, in another context, has drawn attention to what he calls the 'nothing but' fallacy in scientific reasoning, that of mistaking origins for explanations. The Freudians fall into this error in claiming that if sexual impulse is at the base of love, then love is to be regarded as nothing but sex.

There is perhaps one point at least in the closed circle of psycho-analytic doctrine where a crucial test can be applied: it is at a point where Freud himself felt the theory to be weak, although he never followed the matter to its logical conclusion. Possibly he feared to do so. This critical matter is the development of homosexuality.

In the simplest expression of the theory, a boy's psycho-sexual development should be the least impeded and give rise to the least difficulty when the father is absent and the boy has full access to the mother. Freud was puzzled to find that some homosexual men had just such a history of close maternal relationships.

In his later writings he modified his views on the oedipus situation somewhat, in so far as he elaborated the simple account given above. He came to regard every individual /

individual as potentially bisexual. The boy's libido might go out to the father as well as to the mother, and might even do so to the extent of reversing the normal oedipal situation, so that he 'desires' the father and idealises the mother. In this case the personality takes on a feminine stamp, and the boy tries to behave towards the father as a girl instead of as a boy. The attitude to themother is therefore one of basic hostility and jealousy, like the girl's. (See Freud 1927).

In the next Chapters the question of the origins of homosexuality will be reviewed, and Freud's proposals will be re-examined in the light of the findings.

Before taking up this matter it is necessary to mention certain other aspects of family life. These must necessarily be dealt with briefly, not because they are unimportant, but because there is so little factual evidence available upon which to base a discussion.

Sibling jealousy is a very common behavioural pattern in children attending child guidance clinics, or in delinquent and other abnormal groups. It is difficult to know, however, whether jealousy is a cause of maladjustment, or merely a symptom. It is also difficult to be sure whether sibling-rivalry is to be regarded as a normal feature of family life, or an abnormal one.

According /

According to Adler, sibling jealousy is an almost universal occurrence, and is especially marked when the first child has enjoyed particularly good relations with the mother. Flugel is of a similar opinion, but he emphasises the two-way action, the first-born being jealous of his usurper, and the second-born of the older child's prior possession. Thom regards jealousy as a normal reaction common to most children between the ages of 1 and 5 years. According to Freud, sibling jealousy is especially common and severe among girls on account of her envy of her brother's penis, and he regards rivalry as inevitable among all the siblings.

Smalley studied the influence of various factors on sibling jealousy in groups of young children attending a clinic-school. In cases where pairs of siblings had been referred to the clinic, jealousy was most frequent in the girl-girl relationship, and least common when the pairs were mixed but the differences were not reliable. Other factors such as age and intelligence showed no particular trends, except that jealousy by an older-dull child was commoner than the reverse. Out of twenty-seven pairs studied, eleven were described as 'markedly fond', seven were 'fond' and nine had a 'protection-dependency' relationship. None, therefore, were distinguished by perpetual antagonism.

Sewall /

Sewall studied seventy children attending the same pre-school clinic as Smalley's group. Most, but not all, were clinic-referrals. Thirty-nine of the seventy manifested sibling-jealousy, and in twenty-six cases it was shown in bodily attack. In comparing the thirty-nine jealous children with the thirty-one non-jealous, no distinction between the groups was found in the following factors: knowledge that the baby was coming, intelligence, religion of the home, Jealousy was commonest when there was an age difference of over eighteen months: it was common when the jealous child was unwanted. The sex of the sibling showed no reliable trends, but there was a slight tendency for the jealousy to be commoner when the younger child was a brother. Inconsistent discipline and poor economic circumstances showed a positive correlation with the presence of jealousy. There was a negative relationship between jealousy and the size of family. Ross reports a similar finding, and she also found a tendency for the first-born to be more often jealous. Maternal over-protection was as common in the non-jealous group as in the other.

There does not appear to be any single causal factor involved in sibling jealousy (Jersild 1946) which undoubtedly springs from complex inter-relationships between the /

the whole family. There is some evidence that jealousy is commonest and more intense in the earlier years, but it is not clear whether this is because social contacts widen and hostility can be diffused, or whether it is related to a real reduction.

D.M. Levy (1943) has described an experiment with a doll-play situation involving children referred to a clinic and showing sibling jealousy. He notes the changes in the nature of the play activity, and the therapeutic effects reflected in improved sibling relationships in some cases. Perhaps the most interesting observation is the self-hostility as a result of guilt feelings that was displayed by some of the children. Jealousy, like other unsatisfactory personal relationships, is a boomerang.

Fortes records that the Tallensi quite expect squabbles between siblings, and make a joke of the situation. He believes, in fact, that the cultural expectation of rivalry between close siblings does something to encourage it. (One might compare the 'mother-in-law' stereotype in our own society). His observations lead him to suppose that these quarrels are an expression of the familiarity and equality of siblings, and that they donot destroy their solidarity.

There /

There is little scientific evidence of the extent of sibling jealousy in normal families, most of the studies so far published having involved groups that were either frankly clinical, or atypical. Valentine made careful observations of his own children, and saw no evidence at all of a jealous reaction to the birth of another child, but on the contrary, delight.

Friction and quarrels occur in any groups of people living together, whether related or not, and the family is no exception. But in most families these contre-temps are passing and infrequent episodes in the normally peaceful relationship: children are especially prone to be fractious when tired, and quarrels are often signs not so much of a rivalry as of increased irritability by purely physical causes. From his own observations, the author regards sibling jealousy in the form proposed by Freud ('It is unquestionable that the little child sees and hates his rival') as absent from the normal family situation. Its presence is significant of some irregularity in the family, and in general it is the child who is already made insecure by pre-existing circumstances that shows jealousy of a new arrival. Serious sibling rivalry is in this case to be regarded as a symptom of an existing insecurity rather than being related solely to the presence of a competitor.

A matter relating to this is ordinaly position

in /

in the family. The first child has the disadvantage of inexperienced parents, who may be quite young and also inexperienced in the ways of the world. This may be a handicap, and R.R. Sears (1950b) has shown that the second is less likely than the first to be over-dependent. Goring, studying convicts in English prisons, found a tendency for more delinquents to be in the first two of a family, whilst Chinn found that the biggest proportion of delinquent children were second-born. Bagot, in Liverpool, found a tendency for older members of a family to be delinquent. Trenaman, with groups of young Army delinquents, found a slight predominance of youngest children among his cases. None of these trends are marked, and from this lack of agreement it does appear that ordinal position in the family is not a highly important factor, particularly when one bears in mind the fact that the older children have had longer in which to show unusual trends.

Pazandak has published a study which is suggestive, but the numbers are too small for conclusive results. Ten boys followed by brothers were compared with ten boys whose next sibling was a sister. All the cases were CGC referrals with difficulties in the parent-child relationship. Boys followed by a sister tended to be more disturbed, passive and with ambivalent mother-son relationships, and /

and those followed by a brother were more aggressive, but more realistic and well-defined in the parent-child relationship.

None of the studies, which are not numerous, dealing with position in the family or the sex of rival siblings give any clear trends, and they are contradictory. One seems justified in supposing that whilst these questions might be important in certain individual cases, they are not factors of major significance in the general run of families.

Another question that is of interest with regard to co-educational theory is that of mixed and unmixed families. No evidence has been produced to show that children from all-boy or all-girl families are any worse adjusted than others, either in childhood or adult life, and it does not appear that any disadvantage attaches to growing up without siblings of the opposite sex. Indeed Pazandak's study above suggests the reverse. Rabban, in a study of the development of children's sex-role identification, found that older siblings of either sex had no influence upon this matter, and no differences were found between children having no older siblings, those having opposite-sex older siblings, same-sex older siblings, or both.

A question that is undoubtedly of very considerable significance to child development, but which seems to have received very little attention from students of normal psychology is the relationship between the parents themselves. It is true /

true that a large number of clinical cases show that factors of disharmony between the mother and father have evil results upon the children, but little attention has been given to defining the normal parental relationship, or in studying its place in normal child development.

Before ever the child is born, parental influences are building up, and the family situation that will welcome the child is being made. A woman's attitude to the unborn infant is conditioned to a considerable extent by her attitude to the man who impregnated her. Pregnancy is a time of stress. Mary Rose, in J.M. Barrie's play, announces her condition by throwing a tea-cup at her husband, an action which expresses the strain which a woman suffers at this time, so that the support and sympathy of the father at this time is of great importance. The psychological involvement of the father in pregnancy receives cultural recognition in the couvade seen in certain primitive communities, (see, for example, the account of Wogeo in Chapter 10), where the expectant father himself makes ritual preparations and goes through a ritual confinement. The man does a great deal more than merely fertilising the ovum and then providing material resources for the issue, for he, is, or should be, as closely involved psychologically as the mother.

The /

The confinement itself is another period of great difficulty for the mother, especially in our culture. This is a matter which the present writer, as a male, feels particularly unable to express dogmatically, but it seems that in many primitive communities the actual birth is regarded somewhat casually, and that there is a strong psychological factor involved in the pain and difficulty so often experienced by women in our society. This is quite readily understood, for satisfactory childbirth requires a relaxation of the muscles. It is well known that anxiety induces muscular tension, so the worried and apprehensive mother is in no condition for an easy delivery. It is plain that the father can play a decisive part in helping his wife to face this event with calmness and confidence, instead of fearing it as a time of ordeal and danger. It seems reasonable to suppose that an easy delivery is conducive to the physical well-being of the child. The theory of psychological 'birth trauma' is too improbable for serious consideration, but a difficult delivery, especially if it necessitates the use of instruments, sometimes results in physical injury to the child which may bring secondary psychological effects in its train.

As already complained, studies of normal family life are lacking, but from observation and from the evidence of clinical cases, it would appear true to say that it is as important to successful child-rearing that the parents should love one another as that they should

love the child, and the parent-parent relationship is undoubtedly as significant as the parent-child relationship. It is often the case that where the relations between the parents are 'distant', one or the other may compensate by an over-protective relationship towards the children, which stifles development. The mother in particular is prone to this, and it may result in an unconscious or conscious wish to retain the child at an infantile and dependent level, an especially unfortunate event if the child happens to be a male. This may occur when relationships between the spouses are not so bad as to be obvious, and sometimes it may not be realised even by themselves. In more severe cases it may result in open competition between the parents for the affection of the children, and jealousy between them. Or again, a dissatisfied husband in particular is liable to seek satisfaction outside the home, to the neglect of both his wife and children. This may not necessarily take the form of adultery, for he may immerse himself in his work or his hobbies, and this is indeed probably the more common situation. The 'eternal triangle' does not always result in a wife losing her husband to another woman, she may lose him to a business or a quiet stretch of some fishing stream.

In reducing the length of this thesis this Chapter has been summarised. In its original form the evidence was considered in some detail, and numerous authorities quoted. In this summary the supporting data is omitted, and only the conclusions are given, but these conclusions are based on a study of the best authorities on the subject.

Chapter 19.

THE PHYSIOLOGY OF HOMOSEXUALITY.

It is necessary to revive once again the nature-nurture riddle in discussing this question: is homosexuality a condition determined by innate, or at least constitutional factors, or is it an acquired psychologically determined condition?

Older writers, influenced no doubt by the discovery of the important effects of the ductless glands upon personality and the writings of the "hormonic school" of psychological thought, regarded the condition as entirely the result of some abnormality in the gonadal secretions; this view is not unreasonable. Henry; and Henry and Galbraith, writing in 1934, examined the physique of both male and female homosexuals, and reported that they differed considerably from the norms for their sex, and their psycho-sexual condition was referred to the physical factors noted. In 1937 Henry reported a further study of 100 homosexuals who were well-adjusted and contented in their condition, both men and women, and whilst he still speaks of an 'inevitable constitutional disposition' he also mentions environmental determinants, and states that a great number of the cases were preventable. McDougall, in his "S cial Psychology", is of the view that homosexuality is primarily /

primarily of innate determination, although he also regards the perversion of an inherently normal individual as causal in some cases.

Lang has approached the problem of genetic factors by a rather ingenious hypothesis that if homosexuals are to be regarded as genetically female, then they should have more brothers than sisters. Among the 2241 siblings of 651 male homosexuals he found the ratio to be 117.6 brothers to 100 sisters. A similar tendency was found in the sisters of female homosexuals, but the numbers were too small for statistical certainty.

In any view of homosexual behaviour as determined by innate or constitutional factors, it is probable that glandular factors must play an important role. To summarise the known facts (which are, however, by no means complete), there appears to be no mechanism in normal development which can adequately explain homosexuality on a glandular basis. It is true that the gonads produce both male and female sex hormones, but tumours or other conditions that might alter the normal amount of secretion would equally effect both the androgens and oestrogens, as they are produced by the same cells, so that the balance between them would remain unaltered. Whilst the effects of <u>artificial</u> endocrine imbalance has been demonstrated in the lower mammals by injection, these have not been clearly demonstrated in higher mammals; it is in any case difficult to see how these artificial conditions could arise naturally, except by gross structural abnormality/

abnormality. Furthermore it is at least possible that the opposite-sex hormone produced by the glands has little effect on the body: it has been suggested, for example, that the relatively high proportion of oestrogen found in the urine of boys is due to the fact that it is not used in the body, whereas the bulk of the androgens produced are used. The androgens are a series of closely related but non-identical chemicals: the oestrogens are another series, with similarities to the androgens. It is almost certain that in each case it is one specific member of each series that is chiefly concerned in the physiology of sex, the related members being less important. These specific chemicals are produced only in the appropriate gonad. Thus whilst the testes may produce some oestrogens, these are only the non-specific ones, and there is no evidence of the testes secreting the specifically feminine one. Similarly the female body does not apparently produce the specifically male androgen, though certain other androgens are produced by the adrenal cortex.

A point that may be important to the understanding of sex-behaviour is that there seems to be individual differences not only in the quantity of endocrine secretion, but also in tissue sensitivity, and it may be possible to account for individual differences in the strength of the sex-drive in this way. However, whilst one can account for weak or strong sexuality/

sexuality, or even an absence of sex-drive, in this way, it does not account for inverted sex-drive.

It is difficult to find a biological basis for homosexuality in normal individuals, but there are certain structural abnormalities, which have to be considered, though these are relatively uncommon. In the earliest stages of foetal life (the first seven weeks) there are in the one foetus the primitive elements of both sexes, and in normal development one of these differentiates to the exclusion of the other. Sometimes, however, there is a partial development of both, producing the condition of pseudohermaphroditism. In this condition only one pair of gonads is functional, either the testes or the ovaries. Cases vary from those in which there is only mild malformation and the individual has a nearly perfect development of the urino-genital system of one sex, and only minor rudiments of the other, to those in which there is substantial elements of both, but even in these there is only the one pair of functioning gonads. In the latter cases it may be difficult to determine the sex from anatomical structure, and an apparent-female may actually have no ovaries but a functional testes. Such an individual may have been legally regarded as a girl, and may sometimes show what is regarded as homosexual behaviour, but in the majority of cases of pseudohermaphroditism reported in the literature sexuality conforms to upbringing rather than the gonads, and anyway is generally weak.

The/

The condition of true-hermaphroditism, in which there is one functional ovary and one testis, is so rare that it can be ignored for the purposes of the present discussion.

Glandular disorders of all kinds, including those affecting the primary and secondary sex-characteristics and their psychological correlates, are more common among women than men.

Another important finding is that among the higher mammals (apes and men) the sex hormones are apparently less specific in their effects than was once supposed, and either hormone injected into the body produces typical sex behaviour, as proper to the sex of the individual, though it takes much larger doses of the opposite-sex hormone to produce any result.

Knowledge of the neural bases of sex-behaviour is meagre, but it appears that in males especially among some mammals, both cortical and subcortical neural mechanisms play an important part.

We arrive, therefore, at the position that hermaphroditism, the only condition in which there could reasonably be a biological basis for homosexual behaviour, is relatively uncommon. Even at that, few of these hermaphrodites in fact show homosexual behaviour: we might therefore expect homosexuality to be quite rare, though more frequent among women, if it is of glandular origin.

To co-ordinate this chapter with earlier ones, the view is taken that human behaviour has a biological basis, though this basis may be modified or even overridden by psychological factors. In particular, certain of the differences between the sexes are related to innate factors: these are reflected in the culture, and every human society recognises and gives social expression to them. To some extent this fact emphasises theses differences, and it may exaggerate them or create artificial distinctions, but they are ultimately founded upon innate factors that should not be ignored. In other words, the sex-differences are not mere cultural artifacts, but cultural expressions of physiological tendencies.

The nature of this biological foundation is such that in different individuals there may be differences in the behaviour that results, though generally in degree rather than in kind. That is, individuals show temperamental differences of an innate nature. In the male the intensity of sex-behaviour, or the strength of the sex drive, is related to physiological factors which may make it weak or strong but cannot of themselves, with certain uncommon exceptions, give biologically induced behaviour of a feminine or homosexual kind. In general this also applies, mutatis mutandis, to the female, although there is perhaps greater possibility of biologically inverted behaviour. In the case of the lower animals behaviour is almost entirely controlled by glandular and subcortical neural factors, but at the human level cortical intervention is extensive, and it is therefore possible for cultural or educational factors to modify or oppose theses innate tendencies. It is not unreasonable/

unreasonable to suppose, however, that the most satisfactory conditions for development are obtained when these extrinsic factors are at harmony with the intrinsic ones.

Chapter 20.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF HOMOSEXUALITY.

Finding that physiological explanations of homosexuality are not forthcoming, it is necessary to continue the search elsewhere. To justify the search in psychological fields, one might call as the first witnesses some of the physiologists who contributed to the previous Chapter. Broster has no doubts that psychological factors are involved in homosexuality, and is impressed by the fact that in cases of pseudohermaphroditism brought up in the "wrong" gender, psychosexuality usually corresponded to upbringing and not to the gonads, strongly suggesting that environmental influences are more important than hormonal ones. Hamblen and his collaborators state that psychosexual orientation is not primarily a function of the gonads, and the pseudohermaphrodite accepts the sex assigned to him by upbringing. Williams, in his discussion of intersex, makes the same point. He says, "the psychological orientation corresponds so closely to the upbringing that the importance of the environment as the determining factor can scarcely be doubted. The majority of cases have been sexually univalent; many have married and enjoyed satisfactory intercourse only in the role in which their education had led them to expect satisfaction". Morgan and /

and Stellar, discussing the results of castration and replacement therapy in human subjects, say, "It looks as though psychological and other factors are important enough in man to obscure the effects of castration and replacement therapy". That is to say, these other factors outweigh hormonal ones. Again, they state, "apparently human sexual behaviour is less crucially dependent upon sex hormones than is the mating behaviour of the lower animals". "In the sex behaviour of males ..... the sex hormones have become less and less important in the course of evolution". (p. 246)

Ford and Beach make the following statement in their recent book on sexual behaviour: "When the so-called male and female hormones were first discovered, some authorities concluded that homosexuality is caused by an abnormal amount of female hormone in males or of male hormone in females. There are a few clinicians who still hold this view, but the evidence agsinst it is impressive. Attempts have been made to show that the urine of homosexual men contains an abnormal amount of oestrogen. However, the differences between such men and normal men have been slight and unreliable, and in many cases no differences at all have been found.

"When large amounts of androgen have been administered to male patients diagnosed as exclusively homosexual, the result has been merely an intensification of the sex drive with

no alteration in its direction..... The reproductive hormones may intensify the drive, but they do not organise the behaviour through which it finds expression". (p. 236).

They point out that human sex behaviour is primarily the result of learning and experience. The patterns of normal heterosexual behaviour vary enormously among different societies, not only as regards coital behaviour, but in courting, in the ideas of what is beautiful or ugly, attractive or repulsive in a partner. The influence of culture on human sex behaviour is profound. Even cases of true hermaphroditism, having a fuctional ovary producing oestrogen as well as a testis, are usually sexually uniavelent, showing a psychosexual attitude consistent with their upbringing. These cases, if any, should show the psychological muddle that is supposed to result from glandular tricks! But they do not.

As pointed out in the previous Chapter, if homosexuality was of biological origin, conditions are such that it would be more common among women than men. Statistics are not readily available, and the legal position in regard to lesbianism brings it less often to public notice. However, it is generally assumed by those in contact with the matter that male homosexuality is in fact the more common. Winner has stated that lesbianism was not an important problem in the Women's /

Women's Services during the War. According to her, out of 250,000 entrants to one Service, only six had to be discharged for serious lesbianism. Unwise friendships arose from time to time, which were dealt with by judicious posting, but were never a severe problem. No careful study of the true proportions of homosexuality has been undertaken, but Havelock Ellis some decades ago estimated the number in Britain at two millions, and as the population has grown since then it might be more to-day. Even at half that number the problem is a big one. The evidence available is that the greater part of this multitude are men.

In seeking the origins of homosexuality apart from biology, we might first take up the suggestion given by McDougall that the perversion of a normal individual is sometimes causal. Rasmussen in 1934 followed up 54 victims of sexual assault in the court records of 1902-14. The children were aged 9 to 13 at the time. 46 seemed unharmed in adulthood by the experience, many married and some were prominent citizens. The eight cases that were unsatisfactory showed some evidence of prior instability. These cases were boys and girls, victims of both homosexual and heterosexual assault. Rosanoff has written, "As to other early conditionings, such as seduction by older boys or homosexual men, the evidence of their effectiveness is more largely negative than positive /

positive. It seems as difficult to turn a heterosexual boy homosexual as to accomplish the opposite feat..... Cases of seduction can be gathered literally by the thousand, but such evidence as is available would seem to indicate that seduction can only be of lasting effect if its direction corresponds with the inherent sexual tendencies of the subject". (p. 556).

Markey has stated that in the well-balanced personality all forms of sex perversions can be sloughed off. Ferguson is of the opinion that an unpleasant experience in childhood may upset the balance in the wrong direction, and in cases quoted by Markey there were in fact underlying personality disorders which were precipitated by such an experience. Bender and Blau studied the reactions of children following sexual assault, and concluded that in the children they saw, there was often a personality constellation predisposing them to this sort of event, a kind of "accident-proneness". They were often attractive children, but with an underlying insecurity engendering attention-getting behaviour which made them particularly liable to "invite" the happening.

On the whole it does not seem that simple perversion is a significant causal factor in homosexuality: it is unlikely to influence a normal personality, although it may precipitate overt /

overt expression of the condition in an inherently liable personality, bringing out an incipient homosexuality.

A number of studies have mentioned environmental factors in the inversion of sex behaviour. Strüder distinguishes homosexuality of constitutional and of psychological causes, and estimates what he calls "pseudo-homosexuals", those who have acquired the condition psychologically, to make up about 95% of the total. Schneider quotes two cases in which abnormal development was the result of faulty educational processes rather than heredity or erotic experiences. Bergler has stated that all the evidence points to psychological origin of the condition, although there may be a biological sub-structure. Bender and Paster have suggested the possible environmental situations (in parental relationships) that might be causal. Norwood East believes environmental circumstances to be involved in addition to inherent ones.

Curran regards the condition as due to a combination of inherent factors and special experiences (seductions), but the inherent basis makes it incurable. However, the following studies mention cures in one or several cases, achieved by psycho-analysis or other methods of psychotherapy: London, Naftaly, Ross, Lilienstein, Strausser, Stekel, Gordon, Sercg, Frey, Virchon and Nacht, Bircher, Laforgue, Sumbaer. The fact /

fact that homosexuality is susceptible to psychotherapy strongly suggests that in some cases at least inherent factors cannot be important, if present at all.

In the Chapters on the Peer Culture it was seen that both boys and girls go through what might be called a "homosexual" phase in the prepuberal period. Commencing in the pre-school years there is a tendency for play and other spontaneous groups to be unisex groups, and this relative lack of mixing of the sexes continues up to puberty or even into early adolescence. This phase is not, of course, a truly homosexual one, and in fact there is normally an absence of sex behaviour, though this depends to some extent on the culture. This phase is not apparently a cultural artifact, as it is seen in all cultures, even those imposing no disapproval whatever of boys and girls mixing. (See for example, the Trobriands in Chapter 10). One might suppose, therefore, that homosexuality is a continuation beyond its normal limits of this unisex stage of normal development, in which case it is necessary to isolate the causes of such a fixation of development.

For various reasons (and chiefly their comparative uncommonness) studies of female homosexuality are infrequent in the literature: Radclyffe Hall's novel, "The Well of Loneliness", gives an account of the effects of father-dependence on the development of the girl.

In /

In reading a large number of case-histories of male homosexuals, one thing stands out as a constantly recurring feature of the childhood of such men, they had close and frequently overprotective relationships with their mother, and inadequate relationships with the father. This is not only a very frequent childhood situation in these cases, but it is the only typical feature of homosexual case histories. Can it be that the absence of the father is the factor leading to the lack of psychological development mentioned above? Before pursuing this question it would be as well to examine further Freud's beliefs on infantile sexuality. It was noted in the previous Chapter that puppies have at quite an early age the neural mechanism for sexual behaviour, but that this does not become active until the hormonal secretions commence. It is reasonable to suppose that children also are similarly equipped for the crude aspects of physical sexuality, though of course they are not fertile. However, we have also seen that at the human level experience or learning are more important than physical factors in sexuality: there is no "sex instinct" and about all that is innate is the vague tension that accompanies excitation of the appropriate neural centre. The action taken to dispel this tension is learned, and a study of the vast range of sexual practices /

practices in humans shows that the tension can be relieved in an almost unlimited variety of ways, many of which bear not the slightest relation to the "natural" act, which has to be acquired. In view of this, it seems most improbable that the infant could have the sort of adult-pattern sexual desire towards the opposite sex parent that Freud supposes. It might, of course, be learned in later childhood by witnessing the primal scene or in other ways, but this is uncommon, and in any case the child lacks the hormonal stimulation that would give the matter the 'colouring' or urge that it has in later life. Evidence supporting the theory of infantile sexuality is virtually non-existent. Ashley Montague quotes a study of three children made over a period of years, seeking for signs of infantile sexuality, but gaining no evidence of its existence. The "evidence" forthcoming from psycho-analyses of children is limited by the factors that spoils all evidence from this source, its highly subjective nature and the projection by indoctrinated adults of their own preconceptions into the interpretation of the child's behaviour. Sears (1943) has pointed out that several sources of evidence show that Freud has seriously over-estimated the importance of childhood sex-aggressions.

Malinowski was at one time influenced by the teaching of the psycho-analytic school, but later revised his opinions. In the preface to the second edition of "Sex and Repression" /

Repression" (1927) he states: "It (psycho-analysis) has in fact been for some time the popular craze of the day. By this many fools have been deeply impressed and many pedants shocked and put off. The present writer (Malinowski) belongs evidently to the first category, for he was for a time unduly influenced by the theories of Freud, and Rivers, and Jung and Jones". He admits that many of the earlier conclusions he drew from his studies in Melanesia were conditioned by his interest in psycho-analysis at the time, but that mature reflection has caused him to revise these opinions. (The discussion of Trobriand culture in Chapter 10 is based on the factual data supplied by Malinowski in "Sexual Life of Savages", which was published in 1929: his conclusions in this book are based on his later views). In "Sex and Repression" he originally spoke of the baby reacting sexually to close bodily contact with the mother, but in the second edition he describes this as absurd. A later Chapter of this book, written after his rejection of psycho-analysis, points out that the relation between the infant and mother is essentially different from a sexual one. It involves certain similarities to the sexual act, for example, close bodily contact, but the consummatory aspects are totally different: in the one it is suckling at the breast and in the other coitus. To regard the two as the same is to be misled by quite superficial similarities.

The /

The apparent sexual licence of young children in primitive societies is misleading if regarded superficially, for although it appears to be genuine sex activity it is in fact merely imitatory. When we see a child scuttling along on a wooden toy and making imitative sounds and actions, we are not misled into supposing that he is actually an engine driver, and it is only if we allow our adult interpretations to be projected into a childish situation that we mistake imitative sex-play for the real thing.

Some children are capable of excitable sensations from the genitalia (though according to Havelock Ellis, by no means all), but it does not follow that they are specifically sexual sensations. Some children (but again not all) are susceptible to excitation by tickling in zones that are not regarded as sexually erotic (e.g. the soles of the feet or under the armpits). Unless we are to regard all pleasurable sensations as sexual, these cannot be related to sexuality. There are some who would do this, but in such a case sexuality becomes a meaningless term owing to its vagueness. To take a biological analogy, the vast majority of organic compounds contain carbon, hydrogen and oxygen; to say that life is only charcoal and water would therefore be true, in a sense, but hardly meaningful.

In the ensuing discussion it will be assumed that sexuality /

sexuality in its narrower meaning is not a significant feature of childhood, and that the sexual attitudes of adulthood, whether homosexually or heterosexually orientated, spring from relationships and educational processes that are innocent of any specifically sexual elements of the sort proposed by Freud. Crichton Miller discusses the phases of the boy's development, and points out the difficulties that he experiences from the relationship with the mother. He speaks of a period of about ten years (roughly 8 to 18) in which no woman should be the dominant emotional factor in his life. There is reason to disagree with the limits he gives to this period, but in substance he is undoubtedly correct. He also stresses the fact that not only may the mother stifle development by her refusal to relinquish the boy, but the father may fail in not winning his son's sympathy/

sympathies, so that he is driven to identify with the mother, instead of turning to a masculine ideal represented by the father. He quotes cases in which a homosexual orientation (not necessarily its practice) has resulted from the situation.

F.H. Allen (1940) discusses a process of individuation, by which the person becomes a self-supporting entity differing from others, and in particular differing from the opposite sex. The mother-dependent boy attempts to deny this difference. His fear centres not round losing the penis (in classical psycho-analytic terms) but in having a different organ. We need not agree with this last sentence except in a metaphorical sense, but we can agree with him when he says: "homosexuality is a phenomenon in which the individual attempts to solve the problem of difference by denying it".

Bender and Paster have proposed the following patterns of identification with parents as likely to lead to homosexuality:

i. child identifying with a homosexual parent of the same sex when the parent of the opposite sex is inadequate.

ii. child identifying with the parent of the opposite sex when the parent of the same sex is inadequate.

iii. child parent-deprived in childhood later identifying with a parent-substitute of the opposite sex.

In a number of case histories quoted in the literature parental attitudes are not described because the writer has not considered them significant, but they can be inferred. /

inferred. For example, Rudolph gives the case of a soldier charged with a homosexual offence whose father was killed when he was 6. He evidently had a mother attachment, as he had strong flagellation phantasies whenever he saw a man resembling his mother. He had taken an active pleasure in flagellation games since the age of 8.

Clifford Allen, notes four factors that have been causal in male homosexuality in his experience:

i. Hostility to the mother
ii. Excessive affection for the mother
iii. Hostility to the father
iv. Affection for a father whose sexuality is abnormal.

From the cases he quotes it appears that in the first case, hostility to the mother, there is also total or virtual father-deprivation as factor. In these cases the boy in later life tends to generalise the dislike for the mother to all women: as a misogynist he is likely to become homosexual by deprivation of female company, much as he might in prison. This is not a major causation.

The circumstances of excessive love for the mother occurs most often when the father is absent (as in the War, or away for long periods on business or for other reasons), and a factor in the situation is almost certainly the mother's deprivation /

deprivation of her husband's presence. Under these conditions she tends to over-protect and to make excessive demands on her children, which is especially harmful to the sons. The waves of homosexuality following wars is probably related to this. It also occurs when the father is present but unsatisfactory: he may be tyrannical, hated or feared, or merely cold and unapproachable, or he may be a submissive and inadequate man overshadowed by his wife. Whatever the reason, the boy has no pattern upon which to mould himself as a man.

In the third case, hostility to the father, the boy is similarly deprived of a positive masculine identification, and may therefore be thrown upon the mother. The second and third factors are interacting and often not distinct: between them they account for the bulk of the cases.

The fourth is rather uncommon, but it happens from time to time that a boy gains his psychosexual attitude from a weakly masculine or frankly homosexual father with whom he identifies, and takes the pattern to himself.

Clifford Allen gives a number of case histories from his own experience illustrating these various aspects of abnormal sexual development.

The case of the female homosexual is similar, but less common. Male homosexuality arises from the boy's identification /

identification with the mother, whereas female homosexuality arises from the girl's identification with the father. In this case, instead of acquiring a feminine psychosexuality from her mother, she takes on her father's masculine pattern.

Terman and Miles have given cas-studies of eighteen male homosexuals, and the salient features of their histories are summarised here:

H.1. Age 26. Convicted of fellatio. Oldest of seven children. Father cold, domineering, feared by the children. Mother emotional: repeatedly told H.1. that she wanted a girl. Relationship between mother and son always very intimate: played with girls and could not get on with boys. Knitting and girlish interests. Prefers company of women, but no heterosexual attraction. Effeminiate, refers to himself as "she". Transvestism.

H.2. Age 34. Female impersonator in circus. Oldest of 12. Father brutal and autocratic, no friendliness between them. Mother always favoured parent, and relationship unusually close, pampered and spoiled by mother and grandmother. Played with girls more than boys. Numerous infatuations with male lovers.

H.3. Age 27. Male prostitute. Youngest of 3. Father affectionate but moody: died when H.3. was 12. Mother unstable and demonstrative, close intimacy between them, boy worshipped her. Did not play with boys, favoured dolls. First homosexual experience at 11, initiated by himself.

H.4. Age 19. Male prostitute. Third of 5. Father died when 3. Mother extremely intimate with son ("like two sisters"). Played with girls and adores sister, could not get on with boys. Seduced at 16.

H.5. Age 21. Member of "queens" group. Only child. Father marine engineer, at sea for long periods, rather old and not companionable. Both parents wanted a girl. Mother emotional: strong attachment to her. Dressed up /

up as girl during boyhood. Willingly indulged in fellatio with man at 12. No heterosexual experience.

H.6. Age 19. Male prostitute. Third of 5. Father cruel and unstable, died when H.6. was 4. Step-father disliked the children. Mother the favoured parent, very intimate. Played with girls, not often with boys. Feminine interests. Seduced by man at 13.

H.7. Age 33. Male prostitute. Oldest of 6. Father kindly but stern, not affectionate. Died at 14. Mother very affectionate and the preferred parent. Played with girls. Narcissism in boyhood. Semi-permanent attachments to men from age 20.

H.8. Age 20. Male prostitute. Youngest of 9. Father was an invalid, and companionable to boy, who spent much time with him. Mother less interested than father. Both parents wanted a girl. Played girl's games, dressed up as girls. Frequent transvestism since 17.

H.9. Age 31. Formerly prostitute, now male nurse. Only survivor of 10, rest dying in infancy. Father autocratic but not cruel. Mother emotionally affectionate, very close relationship. Played with girls and preferred their games. Love attachment to another boy at 14. Parents French immigrants, and he was betrothed to a cousin as a child, but tried to avoid the marriage: finally married her, but found heterosexual intercourse disgusting and deserted after three months.

H.10. Age 23. Male prostitute. Fourth of 6. Father spent much time with the boy, but little affection. Mother wanted a girl: the preferred parent: close relationship. Rather solitary in childhood, mixed interests, rather feminine. Slight heterosexual interest, but finds homosexuality more satisfying.

H.11. Age 23. Convicted of sodomy. Only child. Premature. Father deserted before his birth. Mother emotional, worked in house with her, played with girls, although had opportunity to play with boys. Dressed up as girl. Prefers women's company, but no sex interest in them. A typical "queen". Refers to himself as "she".

H.12. /

H.12. Age 24. Male prostitute. Only child. Father a salesman, mostly away from home. Died when H.12 was 3. Mother, close relationship, though little show of affection. Helped her with housework. Effeminate as boy, but disliked girls. Evidence of homosexual interest in childhood. Never had heterosexual experience.

H.13. Age 23. Passive sodomist. Only child. Father cold, did not want a child. Boy feared him. Mother wanted a girl. Very affectionate relations with boy. Always liked to dress and play with girls. At puberty noted an attraction for muscular men. No sex experience. Joined Navy at 15, and owing to his effeminate appearance could not evade attentions of other seamen. Unwilling at first, but later indulged in passive sodomy and fellatio. Occasional heterosexual experience.

H.14. Age 37. Occasional prostitute. Youngest of 3. Father quick-tempered and brutal. Mother affectionate, preferred parent. Much attached to older sister. Played girl's games, transvestism. First sex experience heterosexual, but prefers passive role in sodomy.

H.15. Age 33. Male prostitute. Youngest of 8. Father: no record. Mother: no record. Showed effeminate interests from early age, exchanged boys' toys with a sister for dolls. Attractive to men, seduced at 12. Brother also a homosexual.

H.16. Age 20. Male prostitute. Only child. Father heavy drinker and brutish. Abroad in Army. Mother died when one year. Brought up by aunt and uncle, reported as kindly but no other details of relationship. Boyhood apparently normal, but with transvestic episodes. Married but divorced after six months; frequent heterosexual experience. Prostitution seems to be a means of easy livelihood: could not hold regular jobs for long.

H.17. Age 22. Female impersonator. Only child. Father unknown, said to be Hindu. Mother Indian. Child illegitimate. She wanted a girl. Brought up mostly grandmother: not allowed to play with boys: girls' games and interests. Passive homosexual relations only with men he could love.

H.18. Age 44. Convicted of rape. Younger of 2. Father: no record. Mother: no record of relationship, died when 7. Though white, subsequently reared by negro couple. Recalls dressing as a girl: played with girls. Effeminate. Strongly homosexual, only heterosexual experience reported with young girls.

It will be noted that in none of these cases is there a normal father to son relationship, and in only one is there even a warm relationship, that is in H.8, but even here the situation is abnormal in so far as he was an invalid, and both parents wanted a girl and apparently treated the boy as such. The mother to son relationships on the other hand are all affectionate, and in some cases very intimate, and it is apparent that such a relationship offers potent dangers to boy's development. Far from being a necessity to the boy, "mothering" seems to be a real danger. In none of the cases where seduction is mentioned does it seem that this was the prime cause of the deflected sexual development, for there was evidence of abnormal tendencies before its occurrence. Indeed, the more detailed case reports given by Terman and Miles show that in some cases the boys took the lead in offering themselves for seduction, and the factor of 'seduction-proneness' mentioned earlier in the Chapter probably operated in every case. In the case of H.13, he was not at first willing to yield to his already existing tendencies, and was selective rather than promiscuous in his later unions. Only H.16 was bisexual, and to him prostitution was an easy livelihood for a lazy nature.*

As in the case of Oscar Wilde, the desire for a girl on the part of the parents was a factor in the situation, and one that influenced the parent-child relationship, but actually to treat the boy as a girl is not an essential factor, and many boys develop abnormally from a too close mother-relationship in which this particular feature is absent. The boy's tendency to play with girls and as a girl is frequently an expression of his tendencies rather than a reason for them: it is a symptom of abnormal development and not a cause.

In cases of homosexual men this preference for the cross-sex parent is a very marked factor. Case records of homosexual women are less readily available, partly because lesbianism is not a legal offence and hence cases do not come to the notice of the courts (a large proportion of male homosexual histories came from examinations in prison). Most of the available histories are from girls convicted for heterosexual offences, but who are found on psychological examination to show homosexual tendencies. These cases are usually bisexual rather than true homosexuals. Such histories as are available suggest that the same situation operates, although it is rather less clear-cut. There is an over-attachment to the cross-sex parent, in this case the father, and there is the same destructive element in a girl's dependence /

dependence on the father as there is in the case of the boy and the mother.

True and active homosexuals, whether male or female, are usually quite content with heir condition; guilt conflicts do not arise, and therefore neurotic breakdown that would bring them either voluntarily or under compulsion to a psychologist for help is uncommon, except in cases of conviction. Practically all regard their state as constitutional, hence inevitable and outwith their control. This is, of course, a convenient rationalisation which eliminates conflict. Very few practising inverts have any desire to be different, and neurotic conflict is most common among the much larger number of homosexuals who never give overt expression to their tendencies.

It is impossible to say just how many of the latter type there are, but probably for every one practising homosexual there are a dozen who never at any time indulge in active relationships with another person. Many of these are people of the highest moral integrity, who find some sublimated activity which is of the greatest value to society, and these make a satisfactory adjustment. It is those who never find a satisfying outlet in work, but whose moral code prevents them from yielding to the temptation that is ever with them that are the real sufferers. It is hardly possible to estimate the amount of unhappiness that results from this situation. Society

is /

is responsible for the defects in our system of child care that produces these individuals, and it is society's duty to aid them.

In the light of the above facts we can now return to the psycho-analytic explanation of homosexuality. According to this theory one factor in the aetiology of the condition is a libidinal desire towards the father, which was supposed to be a displacement of that which, in terms of the theory, is properly directed towards the mother. We find in actual cases that homosexuality often arises where there is no father, either due to his permanent absence by death or desertion, or because he is absent for a long period owing to special circumstances. The theory is clearly unable to explain the genesis of homosexuality in these cases. In other cases it is seen to arise in circumstances where the father is a hated figure, and the sort of erotic attraction to him which Freud proposes is certainly absent. In neither of these circumstances is there anything resembling 'acting towards the father like a girl' (that is, 'desiring' to seduce and possess him in the manner described by the theory as the girl's attitude in the oedipal situation).

Further the theory requires an identification with the mother which is basically hostile, that is, the sort of ambivalent attitude which he is supposed to have to the father in /

in the oedipal situation. There is no evidence whatever of the presence of this hostile component, and indeed, it is its absence that seems to be conducive to the condition.

In the case of the girl homosexuality is supposed to arise from the girl's libidinal urges going out to the mother instead of the father, but here again the Freudian theory does not fit the facts, and the same arguments as above, mutatis mutandis, are applicable. There is, furthermore, evidence that maternal over-protection whether of girls or of boys, is considerably more common than paternal over-protection. This being so according to psycho-analytic premises, female homosexuality should be more common than male homosexuality, because the girl would have much better opportunity of directing her libido towards the mother than the boy would towards the father. In point of fact, male homosexuality is much the more common, and again psycho-analytic theory is unable to explain this.

A fundamental assumption to the psycho-analytic thesis is that of infantile sexuality, but there is little or no evidence to support the existence of this sexuality in the form demanded by the theory.

It seems clear that the psycho-analytic theory of the child's sexual development is quite unable to explain the observed /

observed facts of homosexual case-histories. It will be noted that if the psycho-analytic theory cannot explain homosexuality, then neither can it explain normal sexual development, for the two must be fitted into the same theoretical frame of reference. Homosexuality is, therefore, a question of crucial importance to the whole structure, and its failure at this point causes the whole of it to collapse. Psycho-analysis has failed in this test.

It now becomes necessary to propose another theory into which the facts can fit more easily, and this will be done in a later Chapter.

Chapter 21.

FATHER DEPRIVATION: A FURTHER DISCUSSION.

In the previous Chapter it has been shown that there can be a destructive element in the boy's relationship with his mother, and it is apparent that the father plays a more important role in family life, especially as it affects the boy, than is commonly realised.

On the whole, very little work has been undertaken to examine the part of the father in the children's development, but a certain amount of clinical material is available showing that father-deprivation or father-inadequacy has a bearing on neuroticism or maladjustment in males apart from homosexuality.

Stretcher has some suggestive observations on this matter. As a psychiatrist with the American Army he found that nearly 20% of draftees suffered from neuro-psychiatric disorders of varying severity. He describes their condition as immature, and blames the "mom" for this condition. The "mom" is the possessive mother (and in rare cases the father) who prevents the boy from growing up. In an examination of the problem he traces many major and minor disorders to the conditions.

Levy analyses twenty cases of maternal over-protection in some detail, and gives a follow-up of the cases. It is of interest to note that of the twenty cases only one involved a girl. His cases were from children referred to a Guidance Clinic, and although /

although cases were selected for completeness of available data, there seems to be nothing in the mode of selection that would differentiate the sexes. Now there seems to be no reason for supposing that in the general population the numbers of boys who are overprotected is likely to be much different from the number of girls; therefore it seems to follow that the results of maternal overprotection of girls are not such as to lead them often to a child guidance clinic, whereas that of boys does. All his cases show neurotic symptoms or behaviour disorders.

He notes that paternal overprotection is rare, and more often involves girls (by which he presumably means more often comes to his notice as a psychiatrist). We would expect these results: both opportunity and nature render the father much less likely to this fault; when it occurs it would harm the girl more than the boy. Hiss follow-ups cover nineteen of the twenty cases and range over ten or eleven years. They lend support to Strecher's contentions.

He classifies the cases as (i) severe or very severe overprotection; (ii) mild or moderate (both at referral).

(i) contained ten cases: on follow-up these were rated as follows: four failures, one slightly improved, five much improved, none cured.

(ii) had nine cases, and gained the following ratings: one little improved, two improved, five much improved, one cured.

Of the nineteen cases followed up only one showed no neurotic tendencies, and this was a mild case first seen at four years of age.

Analysis /

Analysis of the father's role in these histories is interesting:

Two cases (including the girl) had no father living.

One case was four years old at time of referral and made good progress when the father was brought into the therapy.

One case of eight years had a kindly and decent father who was too submissive and let his wife run things. As part of the therapy he was encouraged to a more positive attitude and the boy made good progress.

Sixteen cases had fathers who were frankly inadequate, wife-dominated, uninterested or hostile to the boy, clearly neurotic, idle and shiftless, etc. The pattern is emphasised: continued emotional ties with the mother, no pass-over to the father, leading to defective emotional development.

Warren and Cameron have remarked on the common occurrence of undue attachment to the heterosexual parent in cases of psychotic episodes in adolescence. In a recent study Warren has presented statistics of clinical referrals that suggest strongly that the father is at least as important as the mother in the aetiology of maladjustment. He analysed various parental situations, both for the mother and the father, including their absence or inadequacy. Unfortunately the presentation of the material does not differentiate boys and girls, so that one cannot tell whether paternal factors were more significant for one than the other, but /

but his study certainly reveals that the place of the father has been under-estimated both in clinical and normal psychology. He found that factors relating to the father were rather more significant in conduct disorders (that is, delinquent behaviour) than in neurotic disorders.

Seplin made a carefully controlled study of 43 families in which one child had spent the earlier part of his years without the father (who was in most cases in the Forces) and a younger child was born after his return. The children of the older age group tended to have a closer relationship with the mother, but in spite of this behaviour disturbances were twice as common among this group, and were greater among boys than girls. It was concluded that the differences observed were directly attributable to the father's absence during the formative years. Bach has shown that father-separated children when examined in a doll-play projective situation, have an idealistic and femininised phantasy picture of the father. This idea of the father was related to the mother's own attitude to her absent husband, which she communicated to the children.

Winch studied (by questionnaire methods) the courtship behaviour of over 1,000 college students. The sort of behaviour tapped would be a measure of maturity and sexual adjustment. He found that men with a father-absent home situation scored significantly lower than those with the father present, whereas the absence of the mother produced no such effect. Among the women students /

students there was no significant finding in relation to the absence of either parent. Men who said they were most attached to the mother had significantly low scores. Whilst his findings showed a significant relationship between poor adjustment and mother-dependency in males, there was no such tendency in females who showed a preference for or dependency on the father, and his evidence, which is suggestive rather than conclusive owing to the nature of the study, seems to indicate that cross-sex dependencies of this kind are more harmful to males than females. Courtship behaviour was measured by the attitude to marriage.

These studies, although they do not cover the subject as fully as might be desired, do show that the absence of the father does play a significant part in the production of maladjustment: that is, he is not an ornament of family life, but an important part of the dynamics of child development. Moreover, the close mother-contacts advocated by some authorities do not serve to prevent maladjustment in the absence of the father.

As an illustration of the points discussed, we can turn again to biography. D.H. Lawrence gives a striking insight into the effects of close maternal relationships upon the development and later life of a boy in his novel "Sons and Lovers", which is in fact his own experience, an autobiography. Lawrence, Paul Morel in the story, was the son of a Nottinghamshire miner, a handsome, virile, but course man, disliked both by his refined wife and /

and his sensitive younger son. The lack of an effective father influenced the lives of both the sons, but the younger especially, for he became over-attached to his mother, and the influence of this upon his courting and his own married life are described in detail in the novel. Apart from marital maladjustment, Lawrence was an unpleasant and cantankerous character. It is evident that maternal-over-attachment may not necessarily lead to homosexuality, but it is likely to produce a socially inadequate man, and to be a serious handicap to marital adjustment.

Another case, in which a mother-substitute is involved, is that of Jean Jaques Rousseau. Rousseau's father was a watchmaker, and was a dissipated, violent-tempered and foolish man. The education both of Jean and his elder brother was haphazard, but their father taught them the rudiments of reading and laid the foundations of the sentimentalism in morals and politics that Rousseau later developed. When Jean was 10 the father was involved in a brawl with a nobleman, and fled to Geneva, deserting his sons. Jean saw very little of him after that.

His father was very much attached to his wife, and the marriage was apparently a happy one, but she died at Jean's birth, and this coloured the father's relationship to his son with a sentimental /

sentimental pathos: the evidence does not indicate any antagonism, and there was some warmth of a rather sentimental type between them. In infancy Jean was nursed by his mother's sister. We have a full and uninhibited account of Jean Jaques' life in his remarkable "Confessions", and in this he tells us of his infancy "... the children of a king could not be treated with more attention and tenderness than was bestowed on me in my infancy, being the darling of the family..... though treated as a beloved, never a spoiled child". Of his relationship with his father, he does not complain, but it is evident that it was to his first nurse (Jaqueline) that he had by far the greater affection, and he doted upon her. He transferred these close emotional ties to a Miss Lambercier, who became the Governess of the two boys when Jean was about 7, and Jean had the fullest and warmest relationships with these mother-substitutes.

He describes an incident that had profound effects upon his later psychosexual development, when Miss Lambercier chastised the two boys, and he found this an acute sensual excitement, so that he sought punishment as a means of repeating the experience. He says: "I am well convinced that the same discipline from her brother would have produced a quite contrary effect". There can be little doubt that this incident was not the cause of his abnormal /

abnormal psychosexuality, but merely the precipitant of an already latent condition: it was already deflected into abnormal ways, and this event only determined the nature of the abnormality. He tells us that in later life any pretty woman aroused the same feelings. At times he was exhibitionist, displaying his buttocks to women. There is evidence of masochistic trends in his relationship to his master as an apprentice, when he courted beatings by deliberate misdemeanours.

As a person, Rousseau was most unsatisfactory and unhappy, quarrelsome, petty and fickle. There is no evidence of overt homosexual attachments in his "Confessions", and he describes heterosexual episodes, but his sexuality was quite abnormal. He enjoyed a sort of "naughty child" relationship with an older woman in which she maltreated him. "To fall at the feet of an imperious mistress, obey her mandates, or implore pardon, were for me the most exquisite enjoyments, and the more my blood was inflamed by the efforts of a lively imagination the more I acquired the appearance of a whining lover".

As already suggested, the whipping episode was not the sole cause of his sexuality, but its precipitant. This is clear from the material presented, and furthermore he himself states that it merely brought out an already existing abnormality of development.

Because this and previous Chapters have dealt rather extensively with the father in relation to the psychosexual development of the boy, it should not be assumed that the subject is limited to these aspects of development. Little study has been made of "fathering" in the past, and it so happens that much of the evidence available at present is in relation to sex matters. There are indications, however, as shown in some of the studies reviewed, that the father's influence extends into matters that cannot be considered sexual in content, and there is little doubt that when the matter is studied more fully it will be found that his influence extends into all aspects of psychological development. At present the question is not in proper focus, but as knowledge increases we shall doubtless see the whole more clearly.

It might be true, by stretching the term beyond limits at which it remains meaningful, to say that all male maladjustment is related to homosexuality. For example, it could be shown, and doubtless will in due course, that much male delinquency is related to feelings of inadequacy in masculine identification. In the case of the young toughs, the cosh-merchants and razor slashers that are so much of a problem at present, one finds that they are overmothered and under-fathered boys who are basically uncertain of their masculinity. They feel it necessary to over-emphasise what they consider to be a tough, male behaviour. They wish /

wish to behave as he-men, but the only standards that they have are the immature standards of the peer-culture, which emphasise undisciplined aggressiveness. It is not that they lack the softening influence of feminine example (which is sometimes suggested) but that they have had too much of it, and their delinquency is a crude reaction to the over-feminine upbringing that has robbed them of the maturing influence of the father. The basic springs of a great deal of delinquency could be related to this factor of conflict and uncertainty of the masculine role, but its relation to sexuality is only remote.

The study by Warren quoted earlier found that factors of poor paternal relationships were associated with conduct disorders of a type leading (or likely to lead) to delinquent behaviour. Little study has been made of this question, although the present author is collecting material having a bearing on this point. His information is showing that delinquency has a high correlation with inadequate father-son relationships, and that a large proportion of delinquent boys have in fact had the proper relations with the mother in infancy, (cf. Seplin's findings) and have not had any of the psychological trauma in the early years that are frequently assumed to be causal of delinquency. They appear to have had normal infancies, and it is the abnormal paternal relationship that is the most strongly associated factor in a large /

large proportion of cases. A poor attitude to authority and to the social rights of others is, in the author's experience, a common correlative of inadequate father-son relations. It is expected that more concrete data will shortly be available on this point. Healy and Bronner quote the cases of eight pairs of twins in which one member was delinquent. Poor relationships with the father, compared with a satisfactory relationship of the non-delinquent, was a feature of seven of these: in the eighth case the delinquent episode was associated with trouble at school.

The waves of delinquency among adolescents which have been observed to follow each war is doubtless due in part at least to the absence of the fathers during the formative ~~youths~~ years of these youths. In this matter it is difficult to partial out other factors, such as evacuation, which may be contributory, and the general lowering of moral standards during war years is almost certainly significant. However, there seems to be no evidence that delinquency has been noticeably lower in regions less affected by evacuation, and many of these delinquents have had home life little disturbed during those years, except for the father's absence. Whilst it is not the only factor involved, it may well be a major one.

Sears, Pintler and Sears made a study of the effects of the father's absence on the aggressive behaviour of pre-school children /

children as reflected in doll-play. It was found, among other things, that there was a reliable sex-difference between boys and girls in the use of the father doll as an object of aggression, whereas there was little difference in the aggression shown towards the mother doll. They concluded that the father normally serves both as a more aggressive model and a more potent frustrator to the son than the daughter. In a later study also using the doll-play technique, P.S. Sears confirmed these findings, and found the differences to increase up to five years (the oldest studied). On the question of paternal absence, mostly on war service, she found that this had a number of effects on the doll-play of boys, but none on that of girls. Boys whose fathers were absent differed less from girls in the earlier years than was normal in the frequency of aggression, and they emphasised less than boys whose fathers were present the common sex factor of the maleness of the father and boy dolls. That is, they showed more girl-like behaviour and were less conscious of their masculinity. The differences between father-present and father-absent groups is reliable over the whole study. In the case of father-absent boys and girls, there was no difference between the sexes at three years, a small but unreliable difference at four, and a difference reliable /

reliable at the 2% level at five years, whereas in the father-present group there was a reliable difference at all ages. She concludes from these results that "it appears either that the absence of the father delays the sex-typing process in three to four-year-old boys, or that these early years are more crucial for the development of phantasy aggrssion and the father's absence interferes with this process". These studies suggest that the father's influence on the boy's development begins in the pre-school period.

Bach studied the father phantasies of father-separated children, aged six to ten years. They were lower middle-class children of average intelligence (ten boys, ten girls) whose fathers had been away in the forces between one and three years. A control group with fathers at home, suitably matched, was used, and the investigation used the doll-play technique devised by Sears. The mothers' attitudes to the fathers was also obtained by interview. The father-separated children produced an idealistic and feminine phantasy picture of the father, as compared with the control group, and the influence of the mother's attitude was seen in this typing. The difficulties that might arise on the father's return to be matched against this distorted phantasy were pointed ou

The New Education Fellowship has produced a monograph on the /

the fatherless child (see Volkov) which deals in very generalised terms with the question of the death of the father. The articles by Isaacs and Sharpe both deal with the matter in temrs of the loss of a loved-one, which is, of course, a very real aspect of it, and also the tendency that exists for the mother to over-indulge the children as a result of her bereavement. The absence of the father's discipline is also touched upon, but the father is not regarded as having an essential unique and dynamic part in the child's development, nor the differential results upon son and daughter dealt with. The more valuable part of the monograph is that by Riviere on the bereaved wife.

Since this Chapter has dwelt so much on unsatisfactory father-son relationships, the author may be allowed to quote an example of what he considers an ideal one. Victor Slocum has recently published an account of the life of his father, Captain Joshua Slocum, celebrated for his single-handed voyage round the world in the sloop "Spray". Whilst this is his most famed exploit, it was by no means the only achievement of this true gentleman, who was one of the last of the Master Mariners sailing a square-rigged ship. At one time he commanded the "Northern Light", reckoned to be the finest of the American full-rigged ships, and one of the best of its type under any flag. As was the custom in those days, Captain /

Captain Slocum took his wife to sea with him, and all his four children were born either at sea or in some foreign seaport. The Captain himself left school at ten, and ran off to sea at twelve, but his education was by no means neglected, and indeed he was more knowledgeable than many a man who had graduated through Universities. In the "Northern Light" he carried a library of 500 volumes, including Gibbon's History! He was an unusually expert navigator, even among square-rig sailors to whom proficiency was synonymous with survival. As those who have read his book "Sailing alone round the World" will know, Captain Slocum was a most kindly and human man, with a keen sense of humour, and a most practical one too. As his biography shows, he was also a fearless man of action, and the sort that the writer of the Fifteenth Psalm had in mind. Such a father would be no handicap to a son!

Practically the whole of the education of the four children was given by the mother and father, and whilst the account by Victor Slocum is of his father's life and not a family biography, there is repeated evidence of a happy family, in which all went together through both the pleasures and the perils of seafaring in ships that depended only upon the wind and good seamanship for passage from port to port. As a culmination Captain Slocum, his wife, Garfield aged seven and Victor, then seventeen, sailed from Paranagua /

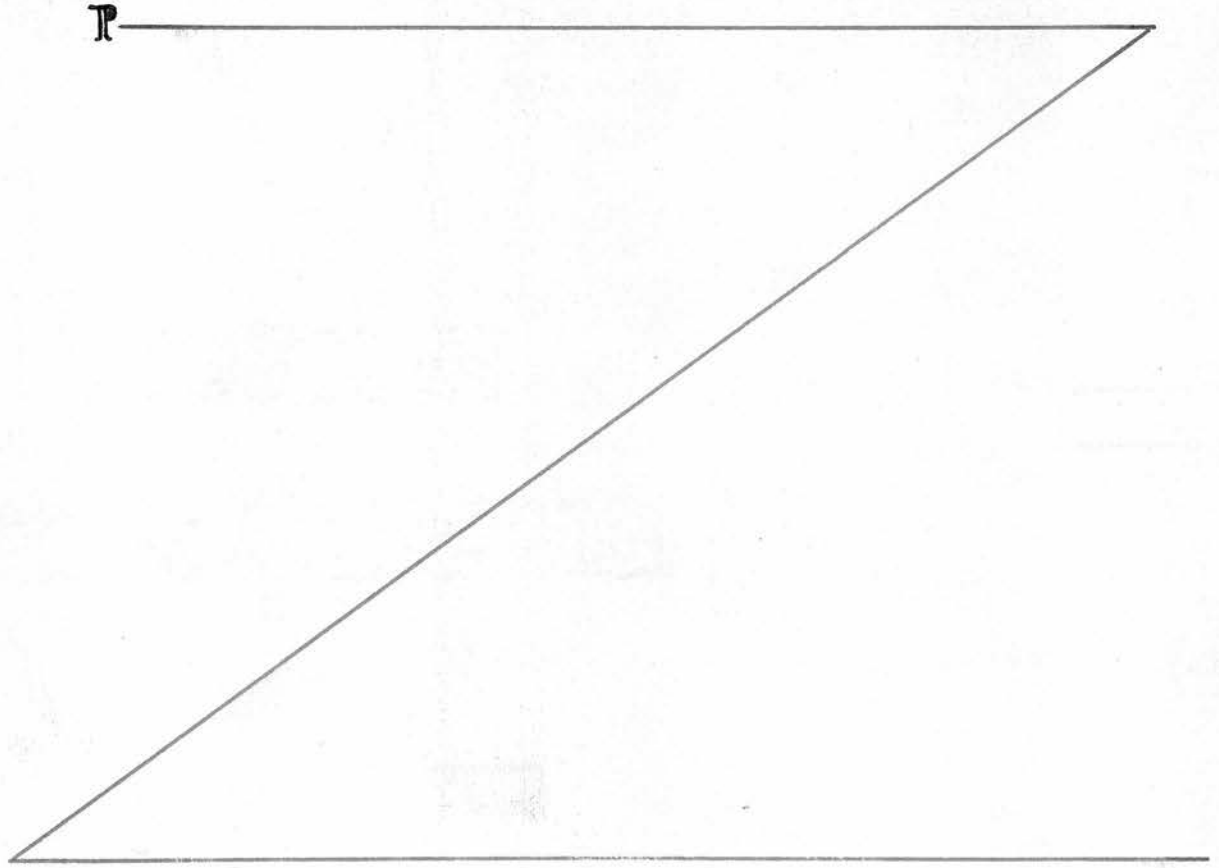
Paranagua Bay in Brazil, where their barque the "Aquidneck" was lost, 5,500 miles to New York in a thirty-five foot boat which they built themselves.

To the present writer this appeals as the ideal way of rearing a family, though doubtless there would be disagreement. Each to his own taste, and other fathers will favour other dreams. Alas, few of us are likely to realise them!

Chapter 22.

THE PLACE OF THE FATHER IN MODERN SOCIETY.

Child rearing in certain primitive societies has been the subject of an earlier Chapter, but before discussing paternity in our own society, it is of interest to introduce the subject by a comparison with two other primitive ones.



A detailed and interesting account of the family structure in a primitive community is given by Fortes in his Book "The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi". These people are farmers living in the Volta River basin of West Africa, covering parts of the territories of the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast. As among all such peoples, the ties of kinship are very strong, and are not restricted to the immediate family but cover a wider range of people, some of whom to our ways of thinking about kinship are unrelated. This 'extended family' is a co-operative economic unit. Under this system a child may have several fathers and mothers: a distinction is always held between the real or biological parents and the 'classificatory' parents, particularly as regards affections, but in most cases the rights and duties which apply to the real parent-child relationship also extend (though usually with less force) to the classificatory parent-child relationship. Thus a Tale child is entitled to claim the protection of a classificatory father just as he is that of his real father, and the former feels himself under a strong obligation to give this if it is needed. Whilst these classificatory fathers are often what we would call 'uncles', the relationship is really much stronger than an avuncular one in our society, because it involves /

involves definite legal rights and obligations between the two. This system has a number of very important functions in the social structure, and among them it takes care of orphanhood. The extended family system carries its own foster-home arrangements, and a deprived child in these communities comes under the care of a man whom he already knows well, and whom he has already been accustomed to addressing as 'father'.

The ties both of affection and of custom between parent and child are very strong in Taleland, especially that between father and child. A father not only has very definite and wide secular obligations towards his children, but religious ones as well, for he is the intermediary between the child and the ancestor spirits: one might say that he has a priestly relationship to his children in addition to those more usually associated with fatherhood.

Parents are held in great respect by their children, both real and classificatory, and this esteem continues even into cantankerous old age (not that age is always such, of course), an aged parent being cared with both love and deference. It is interesting to note that not only does parental obligation extend to classificatory children, but the reverse also occurs, as a classificatory child will take on the care of an old 'father' who has survived his real children. Whilst the usual ties of affection /

affection hold mother and children together, it is the father who is held in chief reverence and affection, especially by sons. The father of the extended family (who is more or less what we would call a grandfather) is the authority who directs the co-operative efforts of this unit; he is the advisor and preceptor, the organiser and the religions leader. Lineage has an important place in Tale thoughts, because it is so much bound up with many aspects of his life, both material and spiritual. Whilst lineage on the mother's side is not unimportant to him, it is the father's lineage that is of chief interest to a man, since it is from this branch that he inherits the land which is so essential to himself and his family. Filial piety, and the strong bonds between father and son in particular, permeates every aspect of life, and there is hardly any part of daily life, of law or custom, or of tradition and religion, that does not serve to emphasise and strengthen the father-child relationship. Fatherhood is very firmly embedded in the culture, and is indeed the keystone of the society. The principal term of respect in Taleland, the Sir of our society, is ba, which means father.

Whilst the father is such an authority in Tale life, to whom implicit obedience is demanded by all the beliefs and customs of these people, and is willingly given by his children, he is no stern autocrat. The relationships between father and child are most /

most friendly, and indeed Fortes expresses some surprise that his authority is so well maintained in spite of the freedom that exists between them. A father is never addressed as 'father' (ba) by his children, which as mentioned above is equivalent to Sir, except after death: a child always addresses his own father by name.

Owing to a lack of knowledge of hygiene, childbirth and infancy are times of danger, and infant mortality is high. However, an expectant mother and the infant are attended with all the care, both material and magical, that these people know, and child neglect is never found. It would receive the strongest disapproval of the community. The young child is cared for by everybody within reach: boys and men are as tender with a baby as any. The child is breast-fed during all the first year, generally by the mother although any other woman with milk will do this if the mother is not on the spot. The child is fed whenever it cries, and is not usually weaned altogether from the breast until the third year. During this time the father is as loving and as indulgent as the mother. House-training is acquired slowly and under no great pressure.

From three until six or seven the children spend most of their time in play. They spend much time with the parents, and in the evening delight to sit with their father, but owing to his absence /

absence on the farm during most of the day, they naturally have more time with the mother and are most attached to her at this age. Food is not infrequently scarce, and a mother will stint herself in order to see her children well-fed. At about seven both boys and girls begin to help with the household chores, without any distinction, and often tend a younger sibling. Shortly after this they begin to identify themselves with the customary sex-division of labour, with their corresponding social roles and ideals. The boy joins the older boys in tending the herds: he learns to hoe, and helps his mother with the heavier work on her ground-nut plot. He also helps his father on the farm, and learns the care of live-stock. As time passes he identifies himself more and more with men's work, and roles, and ways of thought. Especially he identifies with his father, and Fortes remarks how closely the characteristics of the father begin to appear in the son.

In the same way the girl is identifying herself with the mother, and with women's affairs and thought in general. By eight or nine she feels herself to belong with the women.

Only the father has the authority to punish a child, this not being considered proper in a mother, but the whole philosophy of the Tallensi with regard to child-rearing is most forbearing, and the exercise of punishment is rare. Such is the relationship between /

between parents and children, and such is the lead given by the culture, that children rarely disobey. It is very evident from Fortes' account that this happy state of affairs is not due to a rigorous intimidation of the younger by the older, but to the mutual respect that exists between them. The whole philosophy of the Tale recognises and emphasises the need for co-operative effort in economic life, and the father is the pivot of this co-operation: obedience springs in the first place not from an imposition by the man of his will upon the family, but it is imposed from outside by this need for united and corporate effort: the penalty of poorly organised effort is starvation.

As already mentioned, although there is a basic deference in the attitude of children to parents, in ordinary everyday intercourse there is a free, friendly and easy relationship, as between equal and equal, in mutual respect. The Tallensi appear to have achieved a nice balance of authority and affection which gives the developing child the support he needs from the former without any sacrifice of the latter.

Unlike our experience, the relationships between father and son grow closer with age, because they come more and more to co-operate in their work. From an early age the boy knows that he shares by right the farm with his father, and that in due course he will inherit it: all along he knows that he is working <u>his</u> land as well /

well as his father's. When he marries he will bring his wife from another place to live in a house which he will build near his father's house on this same land to which he has such strong ties. A son's relationship with his mother remains warm and affectionate, but he begins to see less and less of her from the time he joins his older brothers in the fields. On the other hand the mother-daughter relationship gains in strength just as the father-son union does, and for the same reasons. Fortes remarks that it is difficult for the casual observer to distinguish the generations by their manner, father and son being more like brothers, and mother and daughter like sisters.

The father-daughter relationship weakens as she grows older, and Fortes records that a father's grief at the loss of a daughter, whilst not light, is much less than that at the death of a son.

It is plain from the foregoing brief summary of family life in Taleland that the father is not merely the legal head of the family, in which paternity involves little more than an obligation to pay bills, but that he occupies a very important place in the upbringing of the children, most especially that of the boy. Fatherhood is not just a titular affair as it tends to be with us, but it is an essential part of the system of child care.

A similar system is seen in the Nuer, a cattle-rearing people living /

living in the Nilotic Sudan (see Evans-Pritchard). Some of the families are polygamous, but this does not obscure the pattern. The homestead consists of a byre which houses the cattle, by the side of which is the hut for the wife, or in a polygamous family, a separate hut for each wife. The father has no hut of his own, but sleeps in that of one of his wives. The byre is the centre of family life, and symbolises the father's status as head of the family. The children of each wife live with their mother in her hut. Quite early in life the father takes the boys into the byre, which is a kind of male sanctum, where they mix with their brothers and half-brothers and the menfolk. At about seven or eight the boys leave the mother's hut and sleep in the byre with their older brothers and unmarried men, but the girls remain with the mother. Thus the boy's life is centred about the byre and its male work, whilst that of the girl is with the women and their work in the huts. As the boys grow older the attachment to the byre becomes stronger, but they retain an attachment both in lineage and sentiment to the mother's hut.

Outside each hut there is a windshield against which the cooking fire is built, and the top of each windshield has three humps which signify the woman's status as the mistress of her home and the mother of children: Nuer marriage is not complete until a child is born.

The /

The family is an economic unit, and with two exceptions no department of its corporate life is the exclusive right of either sex. However, most of the labour in connection with the flocks and herds falls to the men and boys, and they do most of the fishing also, whereas most of the daily domestic routine is performed by the women and girls. The work of the gardens is shared equally by the men and women, boys and girls. A Nuer home is run by the combined effort of all its members, with an equitable division of labour: no work is considered degrading, no-one is a drudge, and all share the leisure and recreation.

The two exceptions to this system of sharing are hunting and milking. Only initiated men hunt, and only a woman may milk the cows. As already discussed in another connection, this guarantees the woman her place in society. A striking feature of Nuer society is the independence and dignity of the individual and the social and personal freedom of women and children.

The man is the unchallenged authority in the home, and Evans-Pritchard attributes to this the remarkable harmony of domestic life. Although a man may beat his wife if she neglects the home or children, he witnessed no case of this, or even a serious quarrel, in the year he spent with these people. Except in rare cases, Nuer women were well-content and were treated with respect /

respect by their husbands and other men.

The care of small children naturally falls to the mother, but the father takes a great interest in his infant children, of whom he is very proud. A father gives much time to his children, especially the boys, and the affection of children for their fathers is conspicuous.

Daughters grow up with the mother, and the father has little responsibility for their affairs, except to see that they are well married. Sons, on the other hand, come under his direction, and he instructs and supervises them. It is from the father and the other men that the boy learns in all departments of life, serious and recreational.

The literature on fathers in our society is surprisingly meagre. One must agree with Gardner (1943) when she remarks: "Since men have found time to write long and frequent treatises concerning most every subject under Heaven, one should conclude that they have considered rather lightly their paternity".

Perhaps the modern conception of family life and child rearing is revealed by the fact that cottage-homes for deprived children staffed only by single women, in a 'mother' capacity, and having no 'father' at all, can be described officially as 'family-units'. One would expect that the absence of a 'father' would /

would prevent anyone from supposing that these cottages could be 'families', but the anomoly has apparently been accepted without question. Sinc paternity occupies an important place in the thoughts of primitive peoples, and the father is an essential part of family life. it is of interest to examine the factors that have led to the neglect of paternity in contemporary culture. Whilst our society still makes the father the legal head of the family, the traditions of our culture have tended to give him less and less place in the daily care and upbringing of children. Indeed, there are many people to-day that believe he has no place, and that the care and nurture of children is the concern of women alone.

Something resembling the conditions described in primitive communities existed in rural Britain up to the Industrial Revolution, for at quite an early age the boy would join his father and older brothers in the work of the farm, whether he was in a yeoman's family or whether his father worked for another. At nine or ten a boy would frequently lead a team of horses, or tend the herds. The girls would join their mother in her work about the house and the steading, baking, cheese-making, and perhaps spinning and dressmaking. A division of labour and corporate work in which the whole family united was still a common feature of country life. Even a tradesman in the town was usually joined by his sons at an early /

early age, and it was from his father that the boy learned his skill. As in more primitive cultures, quite a large proportion of the ordinary folk retained the responsibility for the education of their own children, even though the children of richer folk were educated more formally by professional teachers.

Squalor and poverty did exist in the eighteenth century, especially in the cities, but on the whole it was a period of content and peace for the mass of ordinary folk. Society was stable, and the philosophy of the hymn (a nineteenth century product) was acceptable to most:

> The rich man in his castle,
> The poor man at his gate,
> God made them high and lowly,
> And ordered their estate.

It was of course especially acceptable to the rich man in the castle, but the yeoman in his house and the ploughman in his cottage would not have been much troubled by the theological improbability of the statement. A man knew his place, and was content to follow his father either into luxury, pleasure, and often refinement, in the case of the few, or into a life of honest toil and modest but satisfying reward in the case of the majority.

Although the eighteenth century contributed much that seems (in retrospect at least) to be elegant and enriching to our culture, it did not make a happy contribution to the concepts of paternal relationships /

relationships that now exist. Among the upper classes at least, the ideal of paternity was rather similar to the ancient Roman one, although it did not embody the absolute powers given to fathers in the older culture. The upper-class father was the stern autocrat: emphasis was laid upon the duties of wives and children to be respectful and implicitly obedient, but apparently less stress was laid on the reciprocal obligations of fathers. This prevailing upper-class attitude towards women and children is portrayed by the eighteenth century novelist Robert Bage in his book "Hermsprong". When the middle-classes expanded so greatly in the following century they took these ideals to themselves, and so made them much more widespread.

Whilst these conditions were the cultural norm, they were not of course universal: Robert Bage himself was an unconventional father in his day, and an unconventional husband, for he had a most tender and friendly relationship with his sons, and he both preached and practised the equality of women.

Through the degrading years of the industrialisation of British rural life, parents and children alike were driven or seduced into the dark, Satanic mills, and whilst a core of more fortunate folk remained, conditions little removed from slavery existed for the majority, and in this bondage disappeared the system /

system of family co-operative economy that is typical of primitive communities. True some remnants survived in parts of Yorkshire and other places where the home itself became a mill, up till the time of compulsory education, but its survival was not long. Certainly father, mother and children were all absorbed into the mills, but into a system of such misery and long hours of dull, repetitive work as sapped the soul and deadened the intellect, so that family life as it had existed before disappeared from the knowledge of most.

As Britain, and the rest of the Western civilised world, slowly emerged from these wretched conditions, the pattern of family life had changed. The women and children were, in course of time, freed from bondage, but the father remained, under better conditions, to earn the livelihood of his family. Thus he was taken out of the family for most of his waking hours, and the care of the children fell almost entirely upon the mother, aided as social reforms developed by teachers and others. Thus the conception of child care as a more or less exclusively maternal concern grew up, as a comparatively recent innovation. In the past half century this idea has been strengthened by the writings of child psychologists (notably Freud). It is of interest to note these writers have themselves been products of the system: one might almost say its victims.

These psychologists have been deeply impressed by the undeniable /

undeniable importance of the early years of child development, which in the beginning is necessarily dominated by the mother, but they have failed to realise that what is good for the suckling infant does not necessarily hold true for the older child. Because earliest developments are centred around the mother, the mistake has been made of supposing that it does or should remain there. In consequence we now have a philosophy of child care that emphasises "mothering" but forgets "fathering", and this error is widespread, even in text-books of child psychology.

A common feature of the majority of primitive cultures is the pride taken in children, and the care taken in their upbringing, and the fathers accept with pleasire their responsibilities for their sons' education. Because the father in our society is prevented by its organisation from having the same contact with them, it is true to say, as a generalisation which has many individual exceptions, that he has lost interest in his children. A Nuer or a Tale father would regard as ridiculous any suggestion that the upbringing of his sons was his wife's job, but our fathers have had this notion forced upon them, and to-day it is accepted without question by the majority. The Victorian era was an unfortunate one in the history of

father /

father-child relationships, and the stereotype of the imperious and stern master-of-the-house did much to worsen an already unhappy situation. Possibly this was itself a reaction to his removal from his true place in the bosom of his family, and the subject would make an interesting sociological study. Whatever its causes, its results are most unfortunate, and to-day Society is paying a heavy price in crime and maladjustment for the lop-sided view of family life that is now prevalent.

Until recently, rather long working hours took the father out of the home for almost all the waking hours of his children while they were young, and it was a common thing for a father never to see his children except at the week-ends. Now the five-day week and the eight-hour day provide him with the opportunity of taking a much more active place in his children's lives. However, he has largely forgotten both his duties in this respect, and the satisfaction that he can derive from the execution of them. A programme of re-education is needed to draw fathers back into their right place in family life. Shorter working hours, and increased leisure for the working man, can be the most decisive factor in the reduction of juvenile delinquency that we have at our disposal, if it is properly used.

In the present day situation we hear an echo of the remarks of the fourth Earl of Chesterfield in a letter to his son:

> "As fathers commonly go, it is seldom a misfortune to be fatherless; and, considering the general run of sons, as seldom a misfortune to be childness".

This /

This need not be, and should not be.

In consequence of these cultural factors..... the Industrial Revolution, the breakdown of the system of family co-operation in economic activity, the removal of the father from the home for so much of the day, and the system of compulsory education outwith the home.... we now have a system of child care which differs widely from that which holds in primitive societies. The father occupies an unimportant place in our modern philosophy of child care, which is most unfortunate for the boy. As a broad generalisation, our society says that child-rearing is the woman's job, and leaves the father out of it: our cultural pattern tends to regard marriage as a legalisation of sex-life for the man, in return for which he is expected to provide the material resources of a home. In most primitive communities a man desires children as much as the mother, and marriage is contracted as a conscious effort to satisfy this desire: frequently a marriage is not considered final or binding until a child is born. In many such communities marriage involves a restriction rather than an enlargement of a man's sex-life, and if primitive men desired only a wide sexual enjoyment, they would remain bachelors rather than marry, but they sacrifice this relatively untrammelled enjoyment for the restrictions and responsibilities /

responsibilities of marriage because they want children.

The presence of children is reward enough to a father in most societies, but some give it cultural expression by the system of ancestor worship. It would be a misunderstanding to suppose that men in these societies beget children just for the rather dubious pleasure of being worshipped after death, for children are as eagerly sought in communities where there is no such belief. The thing is rather the reverse, the mythological expressions giving cultural sanction and support to the desire for children. Although the man may say he desires a child so that he may be revered after his departure, this is really a figure of speech: the mythology has grown out of the wish for children, and not the wish for children out of the myth. To caricature the situation in Western culture, our society has produced a system which allows a man no legal sexual outlets except one. He is permitted to select one woman, and to have exclusive sexual rights over her, but in return he pays for these services in kind, by providing a house and other material benefits. The children that result are regarded as rather incidental expenses so far as he is concerned, and he pays the mother to look after them, as well as contributing to the upkeep of schools and other extra-domestic child care facilities. In this view marriage is

a /

a kind of legalised prostitution, in which the man pays in kind and in cash for sexual services, the desire for children becoming less and less important.

Now the last paragraph epitomising marriage in Western culture is, of course, hyperbole; and the reader is asked to regard it as such: nevertheless, it has some measure of truth, for we are tending to regard marriage less and less as primarily for procreation, and fewer people marry with this purpose uppermost. It is difficult to say whether or not this applies equally to men and women, but the indications are that it does not, the wish for children being less among men in our culture.

Part of the twentieth century mythology of our society is the myth that child care is the concern of the mother, and that if the father brings in the pay-packet and refrains from ill-treating his offspring, then he is doing an adequate job. This 'mothering myth' has had a most unfortunate effect upon our whole system of child rearing, which is seen in two ways. In the first place it weakens the father's own concern for his children: he adopts the attitude of society that their upbringing is the mother's job alone. In most cases he does not take this attitude from motives of laziness or disregard, for it is the one that society has taught him, and he genuinely believes that child care is a woman's concern. One does not need to make any deep search for /

for examples of the expression of this cultural attitude. To take but one, how many books on child care are addressed to mothers, and how many to fathers?

It is an unusually perceptive man that can look beyond the established cultural patterns in which he has been reared, unless he has had the opportunity of special study of other cultures which enable him to see a matter in perspective, and it is by no means surprising that so many in our society should have been misled by the culturally defined pattern of child care which surrounds them.

The second manner in which this cultural factor works unfavourably is in not directing the boy strongly towards his father, and masculine things in general, as is the case in primitive communities. In the communities we studied earlier, the boy is expected by public opinion to go to his father; there is, as it were, a strong cultural current in that direction.. It is true that this current is not entirely absent from our society, but it is weaker. There is little in the way of cultural prohibition against his remaining tied to the apron strings, but there is the pervasive myth, expressed in innumerable ways ("a boy's best friend is his mother", etc.), which will encourage him to do so. There is a multitude of cultural forces which reinforce this tendency to a maternal system of child care, and the boy is influenced /

influenced by them no less than his parents.

This is peculiarly difficult for the boy, because the earliest stage of his development is necessarily with the mother, and she is of the utmost importance during the early months of life to both boys and girls. The right development of the boy demands, however, that he relinquish these maternal ties and moves over to the father, but here the culture lets him down, for it exercises little pressure or guidance that will aid the process. Indeed, as we have seen, it offers instead a cultural pattern that impedes him.

The peer-culture, and society at large, is apt to deprecate the results of the maternal system that it encourages (culture is not logical) but it fails to point out the cure. The boy who is scorned as a sissy by his peers is not provided with a culturally defined path that will lead him to his father and cure the condition. He is left to cast about for himself, and almost inevitably he is driven back to the original cause of the problem, a too close relationship with the mother. Thus his rejection by the peer-culture does not, in many cases, reform the child, but inflames his condition.

Elsewhere in this book the culture has been described as a supportive medium, and it has been pointed out how important the sanctions and prohibitions that it gives to men are for their psychological well-being and the continuity and security of their lives. /

lives. Life would be unbearably complicated if we lacked some cultural definition of our roles and behaviour in standard situations. Primitive communities tend to be static. On the whole their cultural institutions are 'good', that is they organise life efficiently and take adequate care of the well-being of both the individual and society. However, in some cases 'bad' institutions arise which have an adverse effect. To quote an example, the Baiga are an agricultural people in the Central Provinces of India (see Verrier Elwin). They have a cultural prohibition against the use of the plough, which is deeply intrenched in their traditions and beliefs. They cultivate rice and other crops in the hills by means of shifting fields, which is not only very wasteful of forest land as new clearances are constantly made, but is also inefficient, so that yields are poor and starvation a perpetual threat. Nevertheless they have resisted attempts by the Government to introduce better methods, and they refuse to use the plough, or to take on any of the modern methods of agriculture that would raise the yield of their land. Because they refuse to abandon a harmful cultural institution, they are paying a heavy price. We too are paying a heavy price, in delinquency and maladjustment, for our cultural errors in pushing the father out of child care. Are we to be equally intractible?

The /

The tradition of femino-centric care that has arisen has not merely affected the father's attitude to his son and the son's to the father, but also the growing boy's attitude to himself as a male. A Chaga boy would regard such a question as, "Whom at home do you like best?" as rather senseless. He would reply, "Well, of course, I like my mother, but she's a woman: I'm a man, and I go with my father". The growing boy is deeply conscious of his male role, even from an early age when he is still living with the women, for the culture provides a clear lead to his development in this direction. The boy in our society has no such strong cultural tradition to support and direct his development, and his parents are themselves often in doubt as to their roles and functions. Whilst we have not reached a point of complete indistinction, the sex roles are blurred, and psychologically a great many people are not certain of their sex.

Part of the difficulty has arisen from faulty thinking in the realm of ethics. Quite properly, society has been casting aside the view of women as a weaker and inferior creation, but in striving towards an ehtical and political equality it has been forgotten that equality does not mean sameness, and to a large measure there has been a denial of the differences between the sexes. The idea of men and women as free and equal individuals, enjoying the same rights and privileges in society, is in no way incompatible /

incompatible with the recognition of a difference in role and function. The question of physical and psychological sex-differences is completely irrelevant to a consideration of the ethical status of men and women. There are happily signs to-day that this is being better realised. (See, for example, the pamphlet published under the editorship of Tuck, in which a symposium of women educationalists discuss the results on girls' education of the failure to understand their distinct needs). The knowledge that men and women are equal, but different and complementary, is often found in primitive societies, but has been rather lost in ours.

The femininised system of child care extends beyond the home: teachers have taken on duties of parent-surrogates, and it is frequently the case, especially in the earlier years, that a child's teachers are women also. In the care of the deprived child this is especially the case, for the majority of Homes are staffed mainly by women with only small male representation, and a large number have an exclusively female staff. These conditions have been determined in the first place by the demand for cheap labour in institutions run at minimum expense, although there are elements in the child care service to-day that regard the system as satisfactory. These are, needless to say, themselves women who do not understand the boys' needs, but the results of the system are by no means happy.

Another /

Another aspect of the present role of the father in the family as it exists in our culture is the common tendency to regard him only as the disciplinarian. The boy certainly needs a man's discipline, and is apt to resent a woman's assuming this responsibility, but so often discipline becomes synonymous with punishment. Under ideal conditions, where the boy's development is moulded in close contact with a respected and loved father, discipline, in its widest and truest sense, is acquired quite unconsciously as he identifies with his disciplined father. The father, as a well balanced and mature individual, understands his duties and his rights in relation to society: he functions harmoniously as a free individual integrated into the society, and in his father the boy sees working the reciprocal system of rights and obligations between the individual and society, which at its best is a dignified expression of a mutual respect between the people and the person. Punishment need play no part in this acquisition of a truly disciplined personality. Many disciplinary troubles that arise in our families are due to the father's absence.

However, human nature, and particularly boyish nature, being what it is, a sharp reminder may be necessary from time to time. Under the primitive conditions outlined above, the father is /

is on the spot and if a smack or a reprimand is called for, it can be given there and then in the immediacy of the situation. It too often happens under the conditions of our culture that the threat is made: Wait till your father comes home! Then the man has to deal with some misdemeanour quite out its context, and perhaps quite unrelated to him. Too often he must back up a rather indulgent mother who by her own lack of wisdom has allowed a situation to get out of hand, and the child is then handed over to the father in cold blood for execution. Thus the father's absence in the day may result in circumstances that make his return in the evening a dread rather than a pleasure to the child, so that in a psychological sense the father is ever absent as a positive figure; he becomes merely a negative factor, the successor to the bogey-man.

In Western culture generally, as several studies show, the mother is the preferred parent. Nimkoff offers an explanation of this:

> "The parent is preferred who offers more in the way of companionship and exacts less in the way of discipline. In our society, the relative disfavour in which fathers are held would then be accounted for by the fact that they are the ones that chiefly administer the more serious punishment, while offering less in the way of fellowship. It is the mother who more regularly satisfies the organic needs of the young child and the later psychological ones as well... The preference, then, is not in terms of any inherent genetic factor like sex but is a result of the prevailing culture".

Simpson's study is one frequently quoted as showing the marked preference of both boys and girls for the mother (which incidentally /

incidentally is quite contrary to psycho-analytic theory), but several others have been published. In her study 87% of the fathers worked away from home all day (or in some cases longer) whilst the mother remained to care for the children.

Elkin has drawn attention to the manner in which the feminisation of the system of child care has thrown the American boy on to the peer-culture because he gains inadequate lead from mature adult males. Because of this lack of adequate male patterns of a mature kind, he must react to the demand that he act as a male according to the only pattern he knows, that of the pre-adolescent gangs and play-groups. His pattern is therefore immature and has the aggressiveness of unconfidence. His ideals of virility become "toughness", an unsocialised self-assertiveness.

Because neither psychologists nor sociologists have had much interest in fathers, there has been practically no study made of their role and function in the family in modern society. Indeed, it is surprising how many authors have managed to write whole books about child psychology without even mentioning fathers! Some of the meagre literature specifically on fathers has already been quoted, and a review of the remainder will occupy little space.

Gardner (1943) made a study of the attitudes of 300 fathers /

fathers to their role by personal interview using a pro forma questionnaire: these men were above average education and socio-economic status. As regards the hours spent at home, she notes that "they had ample time to do a lot of fathering", but does not analyse the amount of this time that may have been after the children's bedtime, or otherwise unproductive paternally. Recalling their own childhood, 25% of these men regretted rather bitterly the lack of companionship with their own father, and only 8% the reverse. 58% expressed some disapproval of the mother's care, usually on the ground of spoiling. 99% said that they wanted children. 61% had no sex-preference, 27% preferred boys and 12% preferred girls.

86% of the fathers said that children had made their marriage happier; 53% of them claimed to have taken some part in infant care, but on the whole they did this infrequently. 59% said that they teased their children frequently, and from some of the examples quoted, this must have quite unpleasant for the children. Only 9% said that the children brought their troubles to them, whereas 53% said that they went to the mother. In this group only 29% of the mothers left punishment to the fathers. 80% of the fathers helped the children in lessons, 78% played with them out-of-doors, and 72% reckoned themselves companionable. Only 73% claimed to have given sex instruction.

This /

This study does not cover a particularly representative sample (the men were mostly professional or semi-professional workers in Ithaca, New York), and it mirrors the fathers' reported behaviour rather than actual behaviour, but it does reflect the fact that the father is not in the centre of child care in the home.

In a later study (Gardner 1947) she analysed children's attitudes to their fathers, using a questionnaire given to groups. 388 children were involved, mostly ten to twelve. Only 14% preferred the father to the mother, whilst 32% preferred the mother. 9% thought the father more understanding, and 35% the mother. "Bossiness" was an attribute of the father in a large number of cases. In general the children listed more attributes to the parent of like-sex, but more positive ones to that of the opposite sex. (This could be regarded as indication of the oedipus situation, or it may reflect the fact that on the whole the opposite sex parent usually has less to do with punishment; which was generally administered by the like sex parent). The boys expressed a negative reaction to women's work and role, which was not found in the girls' reaction to men's work.

In this study the fathers spent rather more recreational time with the daughters than with the sons. In the entire group, 40% said that they wished the father would show more love, girls and boys about equally.

These /

These studies, whilst not altogether satisfactory in their method or sampling, do seem to show that fathers are by no means at the centre of child care. It is plain from the material of this Chapter that a great many children in our society are virtually father-deprived. Their mother has a husband, who dutifully earns the daily bread and he may even remember to bring in a toy, but as a father in the true and fullest sense, he might just as well remain in his distant office and send in a weekly cheque.

It should be emphasised that the burden of this part of the thesis is not that 'fathering' is absent from Western culture, for this is not true: the point which it is wished to make is that 'fathering' is handicapped, and is too little valued. A large number of boys are in fact or in effect father-deprived. Because 'fathering' is not highly valued, no attempt is made to deal with this situation, and father-deprivation is an unrecognised source of much suffering.

Apparently the British father, for all the shortcoming imputed here, compares favourably with his German contemporary, for the "Times" publishes the following observation made by German youths who had spent some time in Britain during 1951.

> "What struck them all were the relationships between husband and wife, and parents and children. Husbands washed up -- and the wives actually let them! Children showed no fear of their father, and fathers not only liked, but showed they liked, their children".

This /

This statement comes from a survey made by Swansea University College of 1,000 German youths in Wales on a Youth Club exchange scheme.

In spite of this, however, the father is apparently missed, even in Germany, for Lampert has discussed the significance of the lack of the father-figure during war-time (and subsequently for so many families) and suggests measures that might be taken to deal with this serious situation.

Chapter 23.

A HOMOLATERAL THEORY OF THE CHILD'S DEVELOPMENT IN THE FAMILY.

The family is a universal feature of human communities as far back as history takes us. Various theories have been proposed as to the origins of the family, and a number of writers have suggested that paternity as a social feature is a relatively late introduction. In this view the family originally consisted of the mother and the children which she collected by haphazard intercourse with males, who merely impregnated her and passed on, having no more function than that in the cycle of childhood. This is related, of course, to the old idea of savage promiscuity, in which any man lay with any woman. This theory has long been abandoned by anthropologists. Such a state of affairs is highly improbable from our knowledge of the organisation of primitive societies, nor is it supported by the evidence of evolution, for far down the zoological tree one finds pairs of animals that remain together over several seasons. Furthermore, even where pairs do meet merely to fertilize the ova, it is not always the female that remains with them. The male stickleback, for example, builds a nest, drives the female in to pay her eggs, and then chases her out. He fertilizes the eggs and remains guard over them until they hatch.

Mammalian /

(Facing page 422).

*Returning to the question of biological factors, it was suggested in the previous chapter that there is, in the male at least, little basis for a biological sexual bi-polarity. The psychological aspects of sexual behaviour, on the other hand, are to a degree bi-polar. It was also suggested that there might be individual differences in the strength of the biological sex-drives. Thus it is reasonable to suppose that a boy with relatively weak biologically determined male sex drives might more readily succomb to the results of over-femininisation, whereas a boy with stronger drives might be more resistent to such deviations of the normal direction of development.

Since the femininising factors appear to be influential early in life, before the biological ones are most operative or variations of this sort at all marked, it does not seem likely that this is an important factor, but the whole question is one upon which much fuller information is needed: at present we can do little more than guess.

Mammalian physiology has resulted in a particularly close physical proximity between mother and offspring, which in the lower mammals relates only to satisfying the material needs of the offspring. We have seen in an earlier Chapter that physiological factors in determining behaviour at the human level are of subsidiary importance to psychological ones. Whatever the evolutionary origins of social paternity may have been, human social organisation is such that social paternity plays a vital place in that organisation. Every human society lays down a definite 'masculine' code of conduct for males which is transmitted, as we have seen, primarily through this social paternity. Even in our society, where the sex-roles are becoming less sharp, deviant sex behaviour, that is, homosexuality, is not sanctioned. Indeed, we have the illogical and unjust position that in spite of putting the greatest obstacles in the way of social paternity, our society punishes deviants with much greater severity than most.

The prehistoric origins of the family are lost in the remoter reaches of time: the nature of these origins is of purely pedantic interest, for the practical matter is that the family is now a vital part of human life. In every human community, all through history, the family has consisted of father, mother, and children. The children are not always biologically /

biologically related to the parents, because in some communities adoption is widespread, but in all there is a union in marriage between father and mother, and there are no communities (and so far as we know, never has been) where men, women and children are mixed up in a kind of human pot pourri in which who belongs to whom is lost. The family has therefore been a primary factor in Man's social evolution, and is the keystone of the social structure.

It was pointed out in an earlier Chapter that the family is the vehicle of the child's social development, and it is within the family that he becomes a socialised member of his community. The institution child was described as unacculturated, or relatively so, since he lacks the socialising influence of the family. The family is a kind of hot-house, which stimulates the individal to a superabundant development. The institution child lacks this extra stimulation to superior development, and so represents, more or less, human nature in its minimally acculturated form. To continue the hot-house analogy, he is the wild variety, whereas the family-reared-child is the cultivated strain. The important point is that the family adds certain things to the child's development, it boosts it and inculcates certain qualities that are considered desirable by society. The qualities that are considered desirable vary somewhat /

somewhat among different societies, but on the whole there is broad agreement as to what the human virtues are.

Human society revolves around a number of biological necessities, the most important of which is the need for food and shelter. The sexual needs are also prominent, although subsidiary, and certain other biological needs require satisfaction. The pattern of the culture is ultimately derived from these biological factors, but they give rise to a highly elaborate system of tradition, custom and law by which they are regulated. This pattern is transmitted from generation to generation, and the family is the principal agent of transmission.

Human nature, on account of these biological needs, has an innate basis. One aspect of this is a biologically determined difference between the sexes which not only involves purely physiological matters, but overflows into psychological ones as well. Every human society recognises these basic differences by making different demands and expectations of males and females, Whilst the attributes ascribed to men and women vary a great deal in different communities, there is a fundamental agreement based on the innate physiological differences in body and in function, and every human society carries a dual code of manners and customs one for males, the other for females. Whilst it is pervasive, this duality does not extend to every aspect of life. The nature /

nature of the sex differences is culturally determined to some extent, and to that extent is arbitary. None the less, they are founded upon physiological differences that are profound, and it is these, more than convention, that determine their nature.

For an individual to fit happily into his particular society, he must conform, not rigidly but within limits, to the cultural norms of that society. A small proportion (a very small proportion) of the non-conformers are prophets, and they institute social changes for the better: the majority are delinquents or neurotics, and they worsen the society.

The family is not the only acculturating medium, for the peer-culture mediates certain aspects of the child's social development, in particular the learning of equal-to-equal social behaviour. Siblings are included in the peer-culture. It is also an important factor in the eventual loosening of the ties to the family as a prelude to marriage and the setting up of a new family.

In modern civilised communities a number of additional acculturating factors are at work, schools, the cinema, and so on. The influence of these is subsidiary to that of the family and the peer-culture, which are the major socialising agencies.

In the first year or so of life in the family the child acquires that induced need, often called the 'need for affection' that colours all his later relationships. It raises his affective /

affective reactivity to a higher level than that of the non-family child, so that he is more responsive to social stimulation. He tends, in our society, to restrict his deepest responses to a small circle of people, and often to one person in the early years, the mother. This may be a cultural artifact, due to the amount of care given by this one person. In many societies the infant is nursed by a number of people, and the marked dependence upon the one person apparently does not develop. Because of her more constant attentions, especially in suckling, this induced need tends to be referred principally to the mother, but it is not an essentially maternal one, and could quite as readily be referred to any other person, male or female, who gave the same constant attention.

There is probably a critical period involved in this matter with a more or less definite end-point. The available evidence is not decisive, but it appears that after the first year the accessibility to this stimulation decreases, and that by the fourth or fifth year it is very difficult to stimulate this development if it has been delayed.

Upon this basis is laid all the later social development, and also, for reasons that are not yet clear, much intellectual development as well. Institution children show an under-development of intellectual functions as well as social ones, which are /

are seemingly not entirely due to heredity. Possibly there is a snowball effect involved, the greater social affectivity of the family-reared child widening the experience that would stimulate intellectual growth.

A disadvantage of family life (if one may put it that way) is that once the child has commenced in it, and has had aroused the various induced needs which it engenders, these must be maintained. To acquire a fine epicurean palate is all right if one can always dine at the Savoy or Ciro, but it does make one sensitive to poor cooking!

As stated earlier, the non-family child is not a frustrated one in the terms discussed in Chapter 8, there being no strongly induced needs to frustrate. A child who has started upon the process of acculturation in the family is liable, should there be an interruption to the process, to go through those reactions to frustration outlined in that Chapter. This leads to anxiety, neuroticism and maladjustment of various kinds, determined in individual cases by the principle of availability. The non-family child, in these terms, is not neurotic or maladjusted. He differs from children in the ordinary culture, and may have difficulty in adjusting to them and their way of life, but he is not an individual maladjusted to his own environment of the institution. The family-reared child under more excessive deprivation /

deprivation may reach the extreme state of frustration, that of 'resignation', and under these conditions he closely resembles the non-family child in personality.

As emphasised before, in speaking of the institution or non-family child as unacculturated, the term is used rather figuratively. Actually he is acculturated to greater or lesser degree by the institution culture, and has the induced needs referred to, albeit weakly. To the extent that these needs are induced, he is liable to frustration and its results.

A great many of the social aspects of living are sexually neutral, and the child could learn these equally well from mature individuals of either sex. However, there is a pervasive duality in social and emotional life that is sexually univalent, and the child has to learn not only to function as an individual in society, but as one of a given sex.

There is a biological undercurrent which tends to drift the individual towards the psychological expression of his biological sex. This is aided somewhat by the fact that on the whole the cultural expressions given to sexuality are determined by these same factors: for example, the male has a biological tendency to greater aggressiveness which is allowed for in the cultural pattern. However, this biological undercurrent is not strong enough to resist insistent cultural factors that are contrary to it, and the individual may acquire psychological sex characteristics /

characteristics that are inappropriate to the biological sex. Doubtless there are individual differences in the strength of the biological undertow, so that some persons may be more resistent to adverse cultural factors than others, but on the whole it appears to be all too easy for a person to acquire the psychological characters of the opposite sex.

An examination of this question has shown that it is from the parent of the same sex that the child mostly acquires the social and emotional sex characteristics, and that too close a relationship with the parent of the opposite sex can have disastrous effects upon this development.

The mechanism underlying identification has been discussed in detail elsewhere, but two important factors involved are close affective ties to the person identified with, and close intimate living with that person. Events in the first years, when the potentiality for close affective relationships is largely determined, will significantly influence this later development, and a child lacking this experience is likely to be weak in his later identifications.

In the view proposed here, the boy has to identify with his father. As we have seen in the previous Chapter, in our society he suffers rather severe cultural handicaps in this, not only by his father's physical absence during much of the day, but also by the mythology of our society that debases 'fathering'. This /

This is not his only difficulty, however, for owing to his material need for food, his early development is in close contact with the mother. Unlike the girl, he has to sever these ties with her and move over to the father. The girl, on the other hand, remains with the mother, and no discontinuity is necessary. In this fact alone, apart from the others mentioned above, the boy's psychological development is more hazardous, and this probably explains the greater incidence of maladjustment of all forms among males. However, speaking ideally as things should be rather than as they are, the boy's proper development is mediated by his close identification with his father, and the girl's by her identification with her mother. There is thus a duality in family life, the father and sons on one side, and the mother and daughters on the other. The child's primary identification (see Page 91) is thus with the parent of the same sex: identification also occurs with the parent of the opposite sex, but this is secondary.

The question arises as to the point of entry of the father into the life of the child. There is no magical property in motherhood; although the fact that she has carried, born and suckled the infant colours her attitude to it very markedly, the infant is indifferent. So long as he is nursed and fed, he has no interest who does it, there being no romance at this time of life. /

life. As already remarked, the child would be quite as content if the father performed this function, since bottle-feeding does not appear, so far as the evidence goes, to be less effective than breast-feeding. However, one of the imperfections of this world is that men must work (and frankly, would probably rather work!), so that this duty invariably falls to the mother, although at the human level it does not inevitably do so. Only Man has the possibilities of artificial feeding, and hence can be independent of the natural arrangements for mammalian infant feeding. However, since in fact it is almost invariably the mother who does perform this duty (and usually in the natural fashion), the child's first ties are also most invariably to the mother.

Studies of sex-role typing in pre-school children show that even in our culture, where 'fathering' is not generally so well done, a difference is clear as early as the fourth or fifth years between boys reared with the father as compared with those reared in his absence. Numerous clinical studies have cited instances of children finding difficulty in accepting a father when he has returned to the home after a long absence during the early years, and children as young as twelve months have been reported as having difficulty in incorporating this stranger into their lives. It appears, therefore, that the best conditions for /

for the boy's development obtain when the father has been present all along as a familiar figure from the time that the child can first distinguish one person from another (that is, at about three or four months). For him to take part in the nursing and care of the baby would doubtless help. The time of weaning is probably a critical period, and the point at which the father can best commence his most active participation in the life of the boy. At this point the father should already begin to encourage the boy to make his primary identification with him.

Definition of the end point of this critical period is not forthcoming at present, but clinical evidence suggests that the longer the young boy remains with a feminine primary identification, the harder it becomes for him to change it for a masculine one. Cases are cited where at seven or eight a boy has already a strong feminine identification and would probably be not at all readily susceptible to a change to a masculine one. The earlier the identification is made with the father, the safer to future development.

As already pointed out, the girl's development is simpler because she commences her primary identification with the mother, and continues with her.

As shown in earlier Chapters, a child who makes a primary identification /

identification with the parent of the opposite sex is liable to suffer an inversion of those aspects of psychological development that have a sex-bias. This is most disastrous to the happiness of the individual in a society that strongly deplores homosexuality, but homosexuality is not the only result, and the neuroticism and delinquency already referred to are commoner. In an academic sense these latter results may be related to homosexuality, as, for example, in the case of the young tough who is overtly heterosexual, but whose personality is distorted by a basic uncertainty of his masculinity: his super-aggressiveness is an immature reaction to his weakness. For reasons already elaborated, the boy is more liable to this error of development than the girl. In this view the most important figure in the boy's life is not the mother, as commonly supposed, but the father. The mother is the most important figure in the girl's life.

Whilst the parent of the same sex is of primary importance to the child's development in the family, the opposite sex parent has a significant, though subsidiary role. The attitude to that parent is a-sexual, that is, the child reacts with the opposite sex parent in a purely social manner, without any overtones of a sexual nature. The child's attitude to that parent will have a profound influence on the <u>social</u> attitude to people of that sex in adult life. The <u>sexual</u> attitude to people of the opposite sex is obtained /

(facing 489).

*At first sight the view given here of the boy's relationship with his father may not appear to be much different from the Freudian one, but it is, however, fundamentally different. In the Freudian account the boy 'identifies' with the father only as a matter of expediency. He uses the term 'identifies' in a different sense from that employed here, where it implies a relationship of Platonic love in which the boy grows like the father. In Freud's account there is no real fondness of the son for the father, only the hatred of a dreaded rival inspired by sexual jealousy of the father's relationship with the boy's true love-object, the mother. Because of social pressures, and because the father is too powerful to be resisted, the boy hides this emnity in an outward show of compliance and affection, but he remains fundamentally hostile.

obtained through identification with the parent of the same sex but here again there is nothing of sexuality (or sensuality) in this relationship. There is thus no specifically sexual attitude towards the parents of either sex of the sort proposed in the oedipus theory.

The boy, by identifying with his father, acquires his masculinity, which in due course directs his attitude as a man towards women.* Similarly, the girl's attitude to men in adult life is transmitted by her identification with the mother. In neither case is there any sexual 'attraction' towards either of the parents.

The child's attitude to marriage, and the pattern of his own family life in due course, will be influenced very significantly by the attitude of his parents to one another, and they will leave a mark upon his ideas and ideals of the social aspects of marital relationships.

It is seen, therefore, that the parents make an equal contribution to the totality of family life, the father contributing in primary ways to the sons, and secondarily to the daughters, whilst the mother contributes primarily to the daughters and in secondary ways to the sons.

This theory gives a better explanation of the child's development in the family than the psycho-analytic one. It depends /

depends at all points upon observed facts, and it makes no recourse to unverifiable hypotheses. It explains the development of the girl as satisfactorily as that of the boy, and it also explains homosexuality, which the psycho-analytic theory is quite unable to do.

The mother's place in family life is recognised already. The thesis of this book is that the father's place is no less important.

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In order to reduce breaks in the text to a minimum references are quoted by the surname of the author. Where reference is made to only one published work by that author nothing is added in the text after that author's name. Where several works by the same author are quoted in different places in the text, they are distinguished by the addition of the year of publication of the work in question after the author's name, and where more than one work has appeared in the same year, letters are added to the date, and are thus distinguished in the bibliography. In cases where there are different authors with the same surname, they are distinguished by initials.

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